WARRING IDENTITIES:

The Impact of the EU's Strategic Narratives Relating to the CSDP on European Identity amongst Security Practitioners

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Doctor of Philosophy in European Studies

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Abstract

European security and defence cooperation has experienced some potentially significant advances since the release of the European Union Global Strategy in 2016. Furthermore, due to recent developments such as more aggressive behaviour from Russia, a drastic influx of irregular migrants to Europe and the impact of the Trump administration on international affairs, the EU's attempts to deal with security and defence issues have once more become a focal point for many Europeans. Yet, the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) while somewhat ambitious, is often criticised for its inefficient implementation. This thesis assessed the extent to which security practitioners 'buy into' the idea of integrating security and defence within the EU and develop a sense of European integration identity. It hypothesised that while common training may have an impact on individuals' notions of identity, national interests would continue to shape practitioners' views on security and defence integration.

The concept of strategic narratives as developed by Roselle et al. (2012) was used to investigate the impact that CSDP-related training courses coordinated by the European Security and Defence College have on practitioners' concepts of European identity. A content analysis of the EU's two security strategies was complimented by expert interviews to assess the formation and projection of security-related strategic narratives. The reception of narratives was examined through an online survey prior to participation in EU-level training courses and semi-structured interviews after completing the course.

The data collected provides a rare empirical application of the concept of strategic narrative and makes a novel contribution to the study of European identity by focusing on

practitioners' understandings of European identity. It shows that despite CSDP training courses being a useful platform for the projection of strategic narratives, the EU struggles to communicate coherent and convincing strategic narratives that are able to build a European security culture and contribute to the emergence of a European integration identity. Instead, findings indicate that national interests remain the key factor in shaping practitioners' views on security and defence and support for further European cooperation and integration is dependent on being beneficial to national foreign policy agendas rather than the pursuit of a greater 'European good'.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

Dedication

For Myla. I want you to know that you can do anything you set your mind to. Be determined and don't let anyone deter you from pursuing what you are passionate about. But also know that not being sure which direction to take is also fine - have the courage to explore and try out new things!

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List of Abbreviations

CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
COREU	CORespondance EUropéenne
CPCC	Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EMILYO	European Initiative for the Exchange of Military Young Officers
ENTRi	Europe's New Training Initiative for Civilian Crisis Management'
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ERASMUS	European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
ESDC	European Security and Defence College
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUGS	European Union Global Strategy
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
HR	High Representative

HR/VP	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the Commission
MPCC	Military Planning and Conduct Capability
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NSS	National Security Strategy
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PESCO	Permanent Structured Cooperation
PSC	Political and Security Committee
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
WEU	Western European Union

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The 2016 European Union Global Strategy (EUGS) states in its opening lines that "the purpose, even existence, of our Union is being questioned […]. Our wider region has become more unstable and more insecure. The crises within and beyond our borders are affecting directly our citizens' lives" (2016, p. 3). Research also indicates that security, and terrorism in particular, has become the most important concerns for many Europeans (Stokes, *et al*., for Pew Research, 2016). The launch of the new Strategy has been accompanied by a renewed focus on the integration of European security and defence. Indeed, politicians (i.e. Juncker in 2015; Orban and Sobotka, 2016; Macron and Merkel in 2018 and 2019) have repeatedly floated the idea of establishing a European army in order to best tackle increasingly complex security challenges. However, at the same time, developments such as Brexit and nationalistic as well as far-right and nativist movements in several European countries seem to question the very nature of the European project altogether.

The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) was launched two decades ago (originally as the European Security and Defence Policy) and the first EU mission was launched in 2002; Since then, 35 operations and missions have taken place, two-thirds of them being civilian. While at first glance this seems like a considerable number, these missions have varied significantly in size with the smallest involving only a handful of personnel (EUBAM Libya) and the bigger ones such as EULEX Kosovo deploying approximately 1500 staff (Tardy, 2015, p. 17). The frequency with which these are launched has also fluctuated significantly over the last two decades (with 65% being launched in the first seven years). Since the setting of the Helsinki Headline Goals in 1999, the

implementation of the CSDP has thus been a highly contested subject. As Tocci points out: "Traditionally, foreign policy in general, and security and defence in particular, were the most divisive and controversial dimensions of the European project" as Member States have always been reluctant to relinquish sovereignty over these matters (2017, p. 92).

Since the launch of the EU Global Strategy in 2016, some key steps towards further integration were taken. The EU's Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) was initiated in December 2017, enabling Member States to cooperate more closely on defence issues. The European Defence Fund was also introduced to facilitate greater interoperability between Member States. Yet, the EU is facing a significant internal crisis with the United Kingdom (one of the biggest security and defence actors in Europe) set to leave the Union in March 2019. Perhaps it is therefore not surprising that many Member States remain unenthusiastic about fully implementing the CSDP. The EU Battlegroups, the EU's military rapid reaction capacity, remain unused and the EU continues to face criticism regarding its failure to act (in a timely fashion) when crises arise (such as in Libya in 2011). In fact, the EU is often disparaged for punching below its weight with regards to making use of its security and defence capabilities (e.g. Kantner, 2006, p. 504; Tocci, 2017, p. 74) despite a growing awareness that the complexity of today's security threats requires European cooperation, especially at a time where relations with the EU's biggest military partner, the United States, have become somewhat strained.

The discrepancy between the EU's vision of security and defence cooperation and integration and the Member States' willingness to implement it is a key concern for policy-makers and requires resolution if the EU is to fully establish itself as an international security and defence actor.

Considerable research has been carried out into what role the EU is to play in the international sphere, i.e. whether its foreign policy merely constitutes another tool to promote the interests of its most powerful Member States or if its unique structure allows the EU to make a "distinctive contribution to international politics" (Bickerton, 2011, p. 186). This has led to many studies assessing the EU's external identity and the efficiency of operational mechanisms put in place by EU decision-makers. Yet no supranational decision-making body currently exists which means that whilst intergovernmental cooperation is sought, Member States retain sovereignty over security and defence matters. As the success of the CSDP heavily relies on Member States being committed to its full implementation as well as the integration of security and defence, it is therefore crucial to examine the views and attitudes of those involved in this process. This is underlined by Juncos and Gross' view that while high-ranking politicians are in charge of executing the CSDP, "implementing agents" largely determine the outcomes (2011, p. 84). Focusing on how practitioners in an institutional context respond to the EU's attempts at communicating its narratives will provide a novel approach to assessing the EU's efforts at overcoming its knowledge and democratic deficit (McCormick, 2014). Furthermore, it will highlight how identity formation is reciprocal – often instigated by elites, but also shaped from the bottom-up.

M. E. Smith contends that one of the main reasons for the EU's underperformance in the security arena is its lack of a common security culture, or in other words, the insufficient development of a 'shared value system' (in Richardson, 2012, p. 7). His statement points to a key question which is rather more inward-looking than many other studies and deserves further attention: is a European integration identity emerging amongst security practitioners that would facilitate a common security culture and enable the EU to speak with 'one voice' regarding security and defence matters?

The importance of identity in the European integration process is further highlighted by A. Smith who believes that "until the great majority of Europeans, the great mass of the middle and lower classes, are ready to imbibe these European messages in a similar manner and to feel inspired by them to common action and community, the edifice of 'Europe' at the political level will remain shaky" (Smith, 1992, p. 73, see also Bruter, 2005; Hermann *et al*., 2004; and Kumm, 2007).

This shaky foundation referred to by Smith is reflected in the EU continuously being criticised for having a democratic deficit and its perceived lack of legitimacy (e.g. Lord and Beetham, 2001; Schmitter, 2003, p. 83; Kohler-Koch and Rittberger, 2007, Tocci, 2017, p. 22). In fact, Sifft *et al*. agree with Smith and argue that in order to legitimise EU institutions, a "common European discourse and some sense of belonging to a common community" need to emerge (2007, p. 128). This is further supported by Kaina *et al*. who believe that a "sense of community" amongst Europeans has the potential to overcome the increasing polarisation of attitudes towards the EU (2013, p. 5).

A substantial volume of research has been undertaken into how key decision-makers, such as senior national officials, deal with pooling some of their sovereignty in favour of intergovernmental and supranational processes. However, as Adler-Nissen points out, traditional approaches to studying European integration often neglect to consider the experiences of individuals whose daily lives are affected by European institutions. Yet their practices are "crucial for the performance of European integration" (2014). This is further supported by Bruter who argues that mass identities emerge through an "evolution of individuals' identities over time" (2005, p. 56).

Research Objective

This thesis seeks to examine notions of (European) identity amongst CSDP practitioners and evaluate the role of CSDP training courses as a platform for communicating a sense of European identity to security professionals. It uses the concept of 'strategic narratives' to assess the EU's vision of security and defence projected through its Security Strategies and during standardised training courses and how this is received by CSDP practitioners.

By applying this strategic narrative concept to the study of European identity, this thesis represents a theoretical innovation in two ways. Firstly, it employs the concept in an internal communication setting and at the level of the individual. Secondly, it contributes to the field of European identity theory by analysing the link between working for an EU institution and feeling a sense of 'we-ness' with fellow Europeans. Results will shed light on contemporary sentiments towards Europe and the EU amongst security practitioners and situate their notions of identity in a wider context.

The key component of this thesis is the production of a relatively large set of empirical data which, combined with the analysis of the two strategic documents, will have the capacity to inform policy-making regarding potential ways to increase the efficiency of CSDP implementation and the structure and content of future training concepts. By giving an insight into whether a European (integration) identity is emerging amongst people involved in the European integration process and also establishing what this identity might look like, this thesis adds to our theoretical understanding of identity formation and evaluate its importance for (further) European integration.

Firstly, it will do so through its focus on one specific group of practitioners rather than elites or indeed national governments as a whole. European security practitioners constitute an

especially interesting case study, as they work in a policy field in which "national interests are strongly felt and sovereignty is jealously guarded" (Tocci, 2017, p. 92). The majority of staff are drafted from national armed forces/civil services, rather than being employed directly by an EU institution. This means that although staff might be aware of the possibility of working on EU policies, the majority are unlikely to have chosen their profession due to this European dimension. Moreover, the EU has realised that the nature of cooperation in this policy area requires individuals to develop a more common approach. Thus, in 2005, the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) was founded, one of its main aims being the development of a 'European security culture' through increasingly integrated training. While the ESDC conducts its own internal research and evaluation of its training courses, prior to this thesis no research had been carried out into the impact of CSDP training on the emergence of a European identity amongst security practitioners or indeed the emergence of a common security culture.

Secondly, the concept of 'strategic narratives' developed by Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin (2012) and used to explain the ways in which actors attempt to influence one another in international affairs (*ibid*, 2014, p. 71) is used in a novel and innovative way. By applying it to the EU's efforts to project its security and defence identity to European security practitioners, it is employed in an internal rather than external context. Roselle *et al*. distinguish between three different, yet closely entwined communication processes - the formation, projection and reception of strategic narratives (2012). These are assessed in a number of ways; the formation and projection of security and defence-related narratives are examined through a content analysis of the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS) and the EUGS as well as through expert interviews and course observations. Their reception by practitioners is explored through an online survey prior to participation in training and a

semi-structured interview during or after the course. Additionally, this thesis suggests that when employing the strategic narrative concept to examine notions of identity amongst individuals, another analytical aspect, the impact of previous personal experiences, also needs to be factored in. This notion is also investigated through online surveys and interviews with CSDP practitioners.

Hypotheses

The research is based around the hypothesis that despite increasing efforts to integrate CSDP training to create cohesion and a sense of common identity amongst CSDP practitioners, notions of national identity and interests prevail. While the EU attempts to foster a sense of European identity linked to the EU as an institution, a sense of European identity may be emerging amongst security practitioners which is non-pervasive and situation-specific. It is thought that rather than being reflected in a professional context, it is more apparent on a personal level amongst practitioners; whereas a certain 'we-feeling' might be developing as a result of working in a European environment, this is not reflected in attitudes towards a more joined-up approach to security and defence in the EU. It is contended that the resulting lack of support for a European security identity impedes the EU's ambitions as a security provider. Furthermore, this thesis hypothesises that individuals' existing notions of identity impact on attitudes towards CSDP implementation and that their personal experiences of 'Europeanness' through networking, exchanges, and so forth contribute just as much as, if not more, to their understanding of European identity as the official EU discourse they are exposed to.

In order to corroborate these hypotheses, the following research questions are explored in this thesis.

1. In what way are CSDP training courses contributing to the creation of a common European identity amongst European security practitioners? To what extent is the EU an effective projector of strategic narratives on an intra-European level?
2. In how far is a common security culture emerging amongst those implementing the CSDP?
3. To what extent do security practitioners support greater cooperation/ further integration of European security and defence?

Epistemological Approach to Research

Due to the focus on individuals' opinions and the centrality of human agency, this study employs a pragmatic constructivist approach. Adler defines constructivism as a "view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world" (2005, p. 90). However, taking a pragmatic stance on research means that the research question itself is paramount and considered more important than one's world view and choice of research methods (Creswell *et al*., 2011, p. 44).

Intersubjectivity is one of the key concepts in constructivism and refers to the "knowledge that persists beyond the lives of individual social actors, embedded in social routines and practices as they are reproduced by interpreters who participate in their production and workings" (Adler, 1997, p. 321). Referring to the international system in particular, Chernoff adds that it is socially constructed and "consists of the ways in which human beings think

and interact with one another" (2007, p. 68). This approach is particularly useful when investigating the construction of notions of European identity and their link to policy implementation as it focuses on social interaction as a two-way process rather than a top-down phenomenon. Furthermore, this study is concerned with the role of the ESDC in bringing about a common European security culture and, as such, it is important to stress the dialectic relationship between structure and agency. Checkel believes that world politics are constructed through a "process of interaction between agents and the structures of their broader environment" (Checkel, 2009, p. 72). By adopting an outlook that incorporates individual agents as well as structures such as European institutions, one takes a holistic approach to analysing European identity. A realist worldview on the other hand is based on the centrality of the state, defining agents as institutions rather than individuals. These political actors pursue their interests, which evolve around increasing their power, in a rational manner (Barkin, 2003) and without being influenced by interactions with others. While this approach pays little attention to the role of individuals, it certainly offers one way of explaining state behaviour.

While contemporary International Relations (IR) has become divided between ongoing constructivist-realist debates (Katzenstein *et al*., 1999; Ruggie, 1998; Fearon and Wendt 2002; Little, 2003; Sleat, 2008; Guzzini, 2013), this study does not seek to add to this debate. Instead, it intends to utilise both approaches to gather and analyse empirical data and is informed by Barkin's perspective that "constructivist research is as compatible with a realist worldview and the realist worldview in turn can benefit from constructivist research methods" (2003, p. 3). Applying this outlook to studying European identity amongst security practitioners means acknowledging that while individuals themselves may say they have a strategic (realist) purpose (Reus-Smit in Burchill *et al*., 2005, p. 193) for initiating

interactions with others (i.e. they are motivated only by their own/their state's interests and potential material gains), a change of attitude/ the emergence of a European identity may also occur through interacting with fellow Europeans at CSDP training courses.

Chapter Outline

Investigating notions of identity amongst CSDP practitioners is a highly complex and ambitious undertaking. In order to be able to examine the concept of European identity, this thesis situates it within a wider identity context and uses the strategic narrative framework to examine the impact of working on the EU's CSDP on notions of European identity amongst individual security practitioners. This thesis therefore comprises a theoretical section (Chapters 3 and 4) as well as an empirical section (Chapters 6 to 8) and reflects on the findings and what they mean for European identity theory and empirical application of the concept of strategic narrative in Chapter 9. A brief outline of each chapter is provided below.

Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of the development of the CSDP. It traces how European security and defence cooperation has evolved since the Second World War, addresses the changes it has undergone since the creation of the ESDP and discusses its missions and operations. Furthermore, while a detailed analysis of the two Security Strategies subsequently follows, this chapter provides an overview of the EU's vision of European security and defence cooperation and the changing role of security practitioners.

Chapter 3 evaluates existing literature on different identity models that are closely linked to European identity, such as national identity, constitutional patriotism and 'esprit de corps'. It then assesses different concepts of European identity by considering various theoretical

constructs of identity such as EU vs. European identity as well as strong and weak levels of European identity. Furthermore, it considers some European identity concepts such as Normative Power Europe and how the EU's security and defence policy in particular shapes notions of an EU identity. Finally, these theoretical explorations culminate in defining a 'European integration identity' which guides the empirical analysis of this thesis.

Chapter 4 explores the concept of 'strategic narratives' and sets out how it is applied to an internal communication context in order to assess the emergence of a European integration identity amongst security practitioners. The three different levels of narrative are discussed and an explanation of international system, identity and issue-specific (or policy) narratives in the context of European security and defence are provided. While this thesis evaluates the role of the EU's strategic narratives in shaping notions of European identity amongst practitioners, it also hypothesises that the experiences of individuals who receive these narratives contribute to the emergence of such an identity, hence concepts such as 'socialisation' are also be addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the different research methods employed in this thesis. It explains how the empirical research was designed and why a mixed method approach was chosen. As this thesis focuses on CSDP training courses provided by the ESDC, it also assesses the impact of collaborating with this institution. The research methodology is made up of three main components – content analysis, online surveys and semi-structured interviews. The content analysis and expert interviews are used to explore the formation of narratives. An overarching coding framework - developed from the content analysis - is introduced and serves as a link between all research methods. This chapter also sets out why and how online surveys are used to explore practitioners' views and opinions prior to participating in

training courses and semi-structured interviews are employed to investigate the reception of strategic narratives.

Chapter 6 forms the first part of the analysis section of this thesis. While the main focus is on the projection and reception of strategic narratives, this chapter investigates the formation of narratives relating to security and defence. It consists of two parts – firstly it assesses the drafting process of the two Security Strategies in order to shed light on how policymakers have attempted to create a European identity in security and defence. An interview conducted with Nathalie Tocci, who as Special Advisor to HR/VP Mogherini oversaw the drafting process of the European Global Strategy (EUGS), compliments this part of the analysis. The second part of this chapter looks at how the work of the ESDC and the development of standardised training courses contributes to the formation of narratives thus also providing an insight into the EU's internal communication efforts.

Chapter 7 constitutes a significant part of the analysis as it evaluates the projection of strategic narratives. It does so in two ways: firstly, the main part of this chapter (**Section a**) is dedicated to analysing the two Security Strategies with regards to strategic narratives. The three different levels of narrative (international system, identity and policy) are discussed and attention is also paid to how narratives may have evolved or changed between the two strategies. Secondly, in **Section b**, the ESDC-coordinated courses are evaluated in terms of content. This is done through the researcher's observations from six different training courses but also through feedback from participants provided during the interview stage. Hence, a detailed analysis of the EU's projection of security and defence-related narratives (both internally and externally) is complemented by an investigation of how this translates on a practical level to an internal audience of practitioners.

Chapter 8 is made up of three separate sections which all deal with the reception of strategic narratives. Section a) *The EU in the International System according to Security Professionals* investigates security practitioners' views of the international system both prior to participation in a CSDP course (through the online survey) and during/after the course in order to establish whether the EU's narratives resonate with practitioners. Section b) *Notions of European Identity amongst CSDP Staff* is concerned with individuals' notions of European identity and whether a European integration identity is emerging amongst practitioners as a result of their work and or through participation in CSDP training. Section c) *Practitioners' Views of the CSDP and the Future of European Security and Defence* looks at individuals' knowledge and understanding of CSDP and how they see it developing in the future. The reception chapter is rounded off by a short profiling section that illustrates three different types of practitioners which emerged from analysing the data.

This thesis concludes with Chapter 9, which summarises the key findings and links them back to the original research questions and hypothesis. The chapter also highlights the significance of the findings from this thesis in relation to theory and existing research. Furthermore, it comments on the appropriateness of the chosen research methods and assesses whether the 'strategic narrative' concept was a useful framework for investigating emerging notions of European identity amongst CSDP practitioners. Lastly, it discusses the limitations of the research and makes suggestions for subsequent work.

The topic of this thesis sits at the juncture of a number of disciplines, namely identity studies and International Relations, and focuses on the micro-level of policy implementation by investigating notions of identity amongst EU practitioners. Its empirical focus will not only

make a contribution these fields, it will also provide an insight into how practitioners view the future of European security and defence and the impact of EU-level training.

CHAPTER 2: The Development of the CSDP and the Changing Role of the European Union as a Security Provider

The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the EU has been in place for nearly twenty years. This policy area was added to the European integration agenda through the Maastricht Treaty and since then it has experienced some major developments. Attempts at putting security and defence on the European integration agenda were first made after the end of the Second World War, but it was not until the end of the Cold War and a more uncertain geostrategic environment (Freedman quoted in Kernic, *et al.*, 2002), that security cooperation finally lost its taboo status and became a priority for the EU. As a result, one of the few remaining key roles of the nation-state has been opened up to EU integration, albeit on an intergovernmental rather than a supranational level, at least for the time being.

In the first half of the 20th century, security and defence were closely linked to territorial integrity and the concept of national identity. Indeed, it has been argued that individuals as well as groups identify with and attach authority to whoever is able to best provide and protect their security (Clarke, 1993 , p. xi, Garcia, 1993 , p. 13, see also Booth in Krause and Williams, 2002, p. 6). Being involved in providing security for one's nation was associated with notions of duty, honour and pride (e.g. Wallace, 1991). A strong military culture was commonplace all across Europe. Yet, since the end of the Cold War, a "re-evaluation of the concept of security" has occurred (McDonagh, 2014, p. 2). This has led to Western governments increasingly becoming involved in protecting citizens residing outside their national borders, at times through the use of force. As Dalby notes, the "global security problematique […] now encompasses much more than the contest for political supremacy" as nowadays it also includes concepts such as economic and environmental security,

humanitarian welfare and cyber security to name but a few (in Krause *et al*., 1997, p. 4). Menon adds that, as a result, modern warfare has become increasingly expeditionary and multinational (2011 , p. 79). Moreover, while humanitarian justifications are not new, they rarely motivated military interventions and were not considered to be the responsibility of nation-states in the past (Finnemore in Katzenstein, 1996, p. 168), thus further highlighting the changing nature of the term 'security'.

In addition to the constant evolution of security and the resulting redefinition of the roles of those providing it, there is no doubt that the development of the CSDP has marked the start of a new chapter for the EU in international relations. Not only is foreign policy an "inside-out process whereby values, norms and principles constituting a political community internally (the identity) are projected into the global system" as Campbell (1998, p. 32) points out, it also influences conceptions of the EU itself.

But to what extent is the CSDP having an impact on notions of identity of those involved in its implementation? What kind of military cultures still exist in the 21st century and is it shared across the participating Member States? Do military and civilian staff develop an attachment to the EU as a result of their work or is it merely a tool to implement national security and defence policies?

In order to assess these questions, it is important to understand the development of security provision in the EU and the development of the CSDP. This chapter seeks to highlight the process of European security integration since the end of the Cold War to arrive at the CSDP that we have today. The focus will be on tracing the changes that have occurred in this field and their impact on security practitioners, thus providing a vital background for the examination of notions of identity amongst staff working on the CSDP.

A detailed examination of the historical contexts and key developments promoting certain identities externally and internally is therefore crucial, not only to understand the complex interplay of identities amongst practitioners, but also to determine whether there is a reciprocal relationship between identity formation and policy implementation.

While it would be most interesting to discuss the historical development of security provision, which has always been considered a central pillar of civilisation, in greater detail, this would vastly exceed the scope of this study. Thus, this chapter limits itself to assessing the evolution of security since the end of the Cold War and providing a brief overview of military culture since the emergence of the nation-state.

The Beginnings of European Security and Defence Cooperation

After the two World Wars of the first half of the 20th century, which saw unprecedented levels of mobilisation of European men and women, mass armies and conscription continued to be the norm amongst most European states throughout the Cold War. During this time, the role of the soldier changed minimally, and security threats remained mainly territorial in nature. One major change did however occur after the Second World War. Multilateral cooperation was increasingly sought – on the one hand to keep Germany in check and prevent it from rearming, on the other hand to unite against a common threat (Salmon and Nicoll, 1997, p31/2). Despite early attempts in the 1950s (the establishment of a European Defence Community) and 1960s (Fouchet Plan). However, with multilateral security cooperation taking place under NATO auspices and the United States (US) being the dominant force, it wasn't until the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent end of the

bipolar international system that considerations of more profound European security cooperation really gained momentum.

Indeed, efforts to establish European security cooperation had been made on a number of occasions. Within a year of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) being formed in 1951 through the Treaty of Paris, the founding six Member States had put together a plan to create a European Defence Community (EDC). Its aim was to establish a supranational European army that included West Germany, an idea that should serve as an alternative to US suggestions of Germany joining NATO and with the condition that any German army component would be governed centrally by the EDC rather than by Germany itself. However, the plan was never implemented as it was not ratified by the French Parliament which vehemently opposed German rearmament. For the 50 years following the Second World War, "Britain and France effectively stalemated any prospect of serious European cooperation on security issues by their contradictory interpretations of the likely impact in Washington of the advent of serious European military muscle" (Howorth, 2014 , p. 3). In relation to the failed "Fouchet Plan" Davis Cross states that plans were "too ambitious in some ways and flawed in others" (2011, p. 45).

In 1981, a plan seeking to coordinate security policy and develop common European positions regarding security and defence by strengthening the European Political Cooperation (EPC) process was rejected (Nuttall, 1992). Five years later national sovereignty in security matters was once more emphasised in the Single European Act. However, at the same time it called for Member States to contribute to "the development of a European identity in external policy matters" (Art 30 SEA cited in Wyatt-Walter, 1997, p. 140).

The End of the Cold War – the Beginning of a New Era?

The end of the Cold War represented a significant moment in international relations. The strong relationship between Europe and the US changed abruptly; the Eastern bloc no longer posed an imminent threat to Europe or the US, rendering Europe less strategically significant in America's eyes (Howorth, 2014, p. 21) and Europe less reliant on support from its 'superpower ally'. At the same time, the Gulf War as well as growing tensions and violence in the Balkans led to a "reflection on the geo-political responsibilities of Europe, particularly in view of the diminishing military role of the US on the continent" (Gariup, 2009, p. 98). Security was no longer predominantly defined by considerations of territorial sovereignty. Indeed, security "drifted further and further away from the tasks and missions related to conflicts in the classical understanding" (Pirozzi and Sandawi , 2009, p. 3). Being a powerful security provider was no longer defined purely by large defence budgets, having "large numbers of boots on the ground" and sanctions (Davis Cross, 2011, p. 1). A new, multifaceted nature of security provision was highlighted by European Commission President Delors in 1990 when he stated that security could not be defined as a mere military concept, but rather representing a complex web of "ideology, values, socio-economic systems and the environment" (quoted in Gariup, 2009, p. 182). As a result, militaries all across Europe underwent a process of demobilisation, resulting in significant restructuring and attempts at tailoring the armed forces to fit post-Cold War security requirements (Booth in Caforio, 2003, p. 321).

While calls for the integration of security and defence had been raised regularly throughout the 1980s, they were once more highlighted by a policy document released by the Western European Union (WEU) in 1988. With the European unification process in full swing, it

claimed that successful integration would not be achieved until this policy area, too, was incorporated into European decision-making processes (Howorth, 2014, p. 4). Subsequently, the Maastricht Treaty, through its second pillar, formally established the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) enabling Member States to act jointly on an intergovernmental basis in foreign policy matters. However, the initial effectiveness of this new policy is often put into question, and Lindley-French argues that in its beginnings the ESDP functioned largely as an internal state-building tool rather than to provide security against external threats (2002, p. 809).

As Gariup highlights, "the Gulf War and the emergence of new threats in the form of ethnic and civil wars in the Balkans prompted a reflection on the geo-political responsibilities of Europe" (2009, p. 98). With the US seemingly becoming a less prominent security provider in Europe, a further step towards closer security cooperation was thus taken by setting the Petersberg Tasks in June 1992, shortly after the Maastricht Treaty was signed. The Petersberg Tasks laid out that WEU Member States would provide "military units from the whole spectrum of their conventional armed forces" for the purpose of undertaking humanitarian, rescue, peace-keeping as well as peace-making and crisis management tasks (Petersberg Declaration, Part II).

However, these significant changes were not met with the required commitment from the Member States. Instead, it was envisaged that these tasks would be carried out as part of the European Security and Defence Identity within NATO. This implied that EU security provision was to occur solely under NATO auspices, thus preventing the EU from developing an autonomous security identity. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the continuing reliance on the US and NATO significantly impeded the EU's role in foreign policy (Smith in

Holland, 2004, p. 81). It comes as no surprise that in the years following the creation of the CFSP, it was regarded as little more than "a loose amalgam of the national foreign policies of the fifteen Member States" (Wyn Rees, quoted in Davis Cross, 2011, p. 46) culminating in a lack of sufficient and timely action in response to a number of crises, (i.e. the Balkan Wars and the situation in the Middle East).

The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 incorporated the Petersberg Tasks and transferred WEU assets over to the EU, thus rendering the WEU obsolete. It also created the post of High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy tasked with overseeing the implementation of the ESDP and for the first time giving a face to EU foreign policy. After continued disinterest in the CFSP, the appointment of Javier Solana, a prominent figure in foreign policy, therefore indicated that the Member States were at last keen to boost the EU's foreign policy capabilities (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 51).

The Saint-Malo Declaration

Major progress was however not made until 1998, when intense negotiations took place regarding integration efforts and ongoing transatlantic partnerships. The resulting signing of the Saint-Malo Declaration opened a new chapter for the EU's foreign policy ambitions. After opposing the development of a security and defence policy for fifty years, Britain finally agreed to take concrete steps towards the integration of European security and defence. The declaration stipulated a number of key changes, including the development of the EU's ability for autonomous action, the introduction of new structures and tools to implement such tasks and the pooling of EU military power necessary to back this policy. In 1999, the EU released a statement reiterating its goal of being able to deal with

"international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO" through the implementation of the ESDP (European Council, 150/99) and the setting of the Helsinki Headline Goals. These were established to provide the tools and structures that would enable the implementation of the Petersberg Tasks defined some years earlier. One of the key goals was therefore to have the capacity to make available within 60 days up to 60,000 troops from all parts of the armed forces and to be able to sustain their activities for at least one year.

The European Security Strategy

Shortly after, progress on the EU's security and defence policy was affected by the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the successive bombings in Madrid (2004) and London (2005). These caused a significant rift amongst Member States with regards to engaging militarily in the Middle East, thus once more highlighting some Member States' preference of transatlantic allegiance over European integration (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 54). The newly increased threat from terrorism did however also invigorate efforts to implement the Headline Goals.

In response to the National Security Strategy (NSS) published by the Bush administration in the United States, Solana compiled the EU's first Security Strategy (ESS) in 2003. Emphasis was placed on juxtaposing the EU's approach to that of the US by stressing the EU's view of military intervention being a last resort, only to be used in conjunction with other 'peaceful' means such as political, economic, humanitarian and diplomatic measures (Bailes, 2008, p. 118). However, whereas the EU previously tried to avoid using the term 'threat', this new policy document specifically set out to respond to new security threats (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 54).

The ESS called for the EU to "share the responsibility for global security" by dealing with a whole range of security threats. These new dangers, often causing the first line of defence to be abroad (ESS, 2003), included security in the EU's neighbourhood, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, failed states and the privatisation of force (European Commission, 2003, p. 5). Asseburg and Kempsin point out that the ESS made a major contribution towards developing an international security strategy (2009, p. 10). However, despite several strategic reports and documents seeking to further clarify ways of implementing the ESS, it remained relatively vague in its aims and ways to achieve these.

This was also reflected in the amount of criticism directed towards the implementation of the ESDP, which was declared operational in 2003 (Biscop and Coelmont, 2010, p. 3; Howorth, 2014, p. 80). Biscop and Coelmont argued that not only did the CSDP remain merely reactive, there also remained a significant gap between the goals set in the ESS and the way ESDP (and later CSDP) missions were conducted. Instead, they noted that implementing the EU's security and defence policy up until that point had mainly been a "bottom-up undertaking" rather than guided by an overarching strategy (2010, p. 3). Coelmont further stresses that "honesty forces to admit that the [ESS] is but the first step towards a fully-fledged strategy" (2012, p. 3).

In addition to producing a strategic vision for the EU's role as a security provider through consensus from all 15 Member States, a number of structural changes were put in place at around the same time. In 2004, the Helsinki Headline Goals were extended and revised, leading to the creation of the European Defence Agency (EDA) in the same year. This presented the EU with its first real opportunity to adopt a more coherent approach to "defence planning, military capability objectives, and armaments coordination" and

provided a tool to monitor Member States' compliance with their capability commitments (Howorth, 2014, p. 91). It was also tasked with "identifying, and, if necessary, implementing any useful measure...improving the effectiveness of military expenditure" (Menon, 2011, p. 81). Some scholars have remarked on the success of the EDA's role in facilitating the integration of the EU's defence industry (De Neve, 2010). Yet, others have commented on the EDA's intergovernmental decision-making process impeding the work of the agency which its first Chief Executive Officer (CEO) once believed was only "supranational in spirit" (Witney quoted in Howorth, 2014, p. 94) while some seemingly question whether the EDA had a future at all (Batora, 2009).

In 2007, the EU's autonomous rapid reaction force, in the form of 13 battlegroups, was finally ready to be deployed. Albeit somewhat less ambitious than the 60,000 troops originally aimed for, these consist of 1500 troops each, two of which are theoretically always available for a four-month deployment within 15 days. While these groups, which are made up of forces from a few EU countries working under the leadership of one 'framework nation' exist on paper and do train together on occasion, they remain unused as of 2018.

The Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon which came into force at the end of 2009, entailed several significant changes as well as the renaming of the ESDP to Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). One of the Treaty's main goals was to enable the EU to become a more effective global actor (Menon, 2011, p. 75). As a result, the European External Action Service (EEAS) was formally established in 2010. It was intended to combine expertise from within both the

Council and the Commission (*ibid*, p. 78), but was also introduced to facilitate a more joined-up approach to foreign policy implementation, bringing together diplomacy, humanitarian resources and military capabilities. It was agreed that the Service would be made up of at least 60% EU officials and 30% officials from national diplomatic services; however, its initial launch was not without challenges. EEAS staff did not work in the same building until 2012 (Juncos and Pomorksa, 2014, pp. 1335). The time-consuming negotiations that preceded it and the "nationalism displayed by Member States in setting up the service" (Avery quoted in Juncos and Pomorska, 2014, p. 1332) as well as the impact of the financial crisis and the 'Arab Spring' did not make for a smooth start.

The remit of the role of the High Representative was also increased by adding the role of Vice-President of the European Commission to it. This included taking over the steering of the CSDP, a task previously carried out as part of the six-month presidencies of the Member States. After 10 years in post, Solana was replaced with the considerably less well-known and the more inexperienced Baroness Ashton. While Brattberg infers that the post-Lisbon new High Representative (HR) did make somewhat of a strategic contribution by continuing to navigate the CSDP towards representing a civilian power (2011, Policy Brief), many politicians and scholars alike criticised her inexperience and lack of drive regarding the implementation of the CSDP (Howorth, 2014, p. xi), with some suggesting her appointment was a favour to the British Government (Barber, 2010) or indeed a way of keeping the role of HR from becoming too powerful – the German press called it "*Selbstverzwergung" (turning yourself into a dwarf*) (Graw quoted in Howorth, 2014, p.5).

In addition to increasing the remit of the HR, the Treaty also extended the Petersberg Tasks. While the ESS had already mentioned the importance of being able to use preventative

action in 2003, the new treaty provided a legal basis for the EU to engage in conflict prevention.

Moreover, the term 'comprehensive approach' became a buzzword. Despite the Treaty including a clause on mutual assistance, Member States did not consider the CSDP to be a tool for territorial defence (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 173). Rather, in line with an increased focus on human security through intervention (Wheeler, 2000), emphasis was placed on using the CSDP's full range of tools to facilitate crisis management or crisis response operations' rather than being a medium for pursuing combative security strategies (Dandeker and Gow in, 1999, Mattelaer 2013). Derblom, Egnell & Nilsson further characterised this approach as striving towards "multi-actor (civilian, military and police) planning and supporting cross-cutting interaction with focus on the desired outcomes of an operation" (quoted in Hanssen, 2010, p. 13). This vision was accompanied by a push for increased 'pooling and sharing' of military resources. While such sharing has certainly increased, especially in light of the decreasing defence budgets of many Member States, it more commonly occurs in clusters or through bilateral agreements rather than jointly at EU level (Howorth, 2014, p. xii).

Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy for the European Union

Turbulent developments in international relations leading up to the drafting of the EUGS - including the emergence of the so-called Islamic State and the resulting refugee crisis as well as Russia's invasion of Crimea - have no doubt shaped the EU's strategic direction as well as Member States' attitudes towards a continued effort to further integrate security and defence.

That the security environment was drastically different 13 years later is clear from the EUGS' opening sentences which refer to the EU's external as well as internal crises. This stands in strong contrast to the opening statement of the ESS which read: "Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history" (2003, p. 1). Not only has Europe's security situation deteriorated, the EU's very existence and raison d'être is contested. Tocci, who led the EUGS drafting process under Mogherini points out that at the time of drafting there were two competing security narratives in European defence. On the one hand, governments as well as the public had become more inward-looking when it came to protecting their borders, while on the other hand there was a growing realisation that little could be achieved through acting alone. It is therefore not surprising that the document puts a strong emphasis on the need for a 'true', 'strong' and coordinated EU approach to security and defence. Unlike the ESS, the Global Strategy is a cross-policy document spanning the whole spectrum of EU foreign policy. This vision of interlinking various internal and external policy areas more closely underlines a renewed push to make the EU's approach truly comprehensive. While the previous strategy was vaguer in its goals, the EUGS lays out European interests (which it declares are congruous with national ones) and identifies five key security goals which encompass the security of the EU itself, that of its neighbourhood, dealing with (violent) crises, global governance and stabilising regional orders. Furthermore, it sets out a number of security priority areas including defence, counter-terrorism, cyber security, energy security and strategic communications. This more concrete approach is complemented by a desire to achieve 'strategic autonomy' when it comes to decision-making, but also the ability to implement decisions independently (Coelmont, 2016, p. 10). These strategic goals are accompanied by two core concepts which

are introduced in the EUGS. Firstly, the notion of 'principled pragmatism' which is defined in the Strategy as the EU's continuing pursuit of "idealistic aspirations" whilst employing a "more realistic" approach to implementing the CSDP (EUGS, 2016, p. 16). Tocci points out that it is important to depart from the "dangerous myth" of believing the West needs to 'fix' other regions (2016, p. 6) and Coelmont agrees that a more modest outlook will yield better results (2016, p. 9). The EUGS pairs this approach with a vision of creating 'resilience' amongst people and society, especially within the EU's neighbourhood. According to the EUGS, resilient states feature "democracy, trust in institutions, and sustainable development" (2016, p. 23) and can only be achieved through employing a wide catalogue of foreign policy tools.

Reception of the EUGS

As Lehne points out, the reception of the Strategy was both weaker and stronger than that of the ESS. This is because on the one hand it was not adopted by the Member States instead Mogherini was "invited to take the work forward" (2016). Yet it is also more potent as this demands follow-up action. Thus far, two key developments have taken place. The EU has launched a European Defence Fund, which promotes further EU cooperation on defence research and development, seeking to support projects that involve at least three Member States. Furthermore, it has initiated what EC President Juncker called "the Sleeping Beauty of the Treaty of Lisbon" (2017) – the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) - to deepen cooperation amongst the 25 Member States which have signed up to it. HR/VP Mogherini summarises "Member States have committed to join forces on a regular basis, to do things together, spend together, invest together, buy together, act together" (in EEAS

Press Team, 2017). Novaky argues that PESCO has the potential to be a 'game changer' as it could enable the EU to "reach strategic autonomy" by advancing its capabilities (2018, p. 98). Thus far, seventeen projects have been agreed and cover areas such as cyber security and defence, a European Medical Command and increased intra-European military mobility. 2017 also saw the launch of the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC), a permanent operational headquarters at the military strategic level and counterpart to the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC).

However, the extent to which these and the entire new Strategy are accepted and subsequently implemented by Member States and EU organisations remains to be seen, especially in a climate increasingly dominated by widespread anti-EU sentiments. A detailed discussion and analysis of the two strategies will take place in Chapters 6 and 7.

CSDP Missions and Operations- the Story So Far

After a brief overview of the historical development of the EU's security and defence policy, it is also crucial to look at its practical implementation so far in order to further establish the extent to which the EU's vision of its security and defence has been put into action and how it has affected those implementing it.

In practice, the CSDP missions and operations to date reflect, at least to a certain degree, the evolution of security since the end of the Cold War and the EU's attempt to construct an EU security identity. Indeed, in 2001 Beck suggested that the Kosovo conflict could have served to shape a European security identity in the same way the single currency symbolised the integration of financial policies (quoted in Dale in Guttman, 2001, p. 41).

Yet, since the setting of the Helsinki Headline Goals in 1999, the deployment of CSDP missions has been a highly contested subject. The first EU operation was launched in 2003 in the shape of a monitoring mission in Former Yugoslavia. This was followed by two brief military operations later on that year, the first one being a follow-up from a NATO operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia which made use of the recent Berlin-Plus agreement granting the EU access to NATO assets and planning capabilities. The second military mission consisted of a deployment of 1800 troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo and also represented the first operation completely autonomous from NATO. A full list of missions to date can be found in *Table 1 – CSDP Missions and Operations to date.*

TABLE 1 – **CSDP MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS TO DATE**

Source: own table, data taken from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations en

To date, 35 CSDP missions and operations have taken place in an attempt to stabilise crisis areas. Of these, only nine were purely military, while the rest were civilian missions involving a wide range of personnel such as police, border guards, monitors, judges, and administrators. As a result, many previously predominantly domestic structures and tasks have taken on a European/international dimension. The table below provides a breakdown of the types of mission that have occurred. The tasks, often undertaken jointly between civilian and military staff, vary from fighting organised crime and piracy, supporting the reform of armies, monitoring border crossings, overseeing peace agreements, protecting refugees, providing technical aid and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian aid (Asseburg and Kempin, 2009, Keohane, 2011).

A considerable number of missions have occurred in a rather short period of time, which highlights the quick development of the CSDP. Yet, these missions have also varied significantly in size with the smallest involving only a handful of personnel and the biggest deploying close to 7000 staff (EUFOR Althea). In 2009, only one in five operations had deployed more than 1000 staff and many civilian missions involved less than 100 staff (Asseburg and Kempin, 2009, p. 11). This trend towards smaller missions and operations seems to have continued. Furthermore, the intensity with which they have occurred has also varied considerably – a significant number of missions and operations were launched initially, with fourteen in place by 2005 under HR Solana. Between 2006 and 2010, nine more followed and while Ashton was HR (2010 to 2014) a further nine were initiated. Since Mogherini became HR/VP in 2014, only five missions and operations have been launched. It seems a number of factors may be contributing to this shrinking of missions and operations

both in size and frequency. Early CSDP missions were criticised for lacking longer-term strategic plans. Since then 'lessons learned' processes have been put in place suggesting the EU is attempting to learn from previous experiences and be more selective regarding the conflicts it chooses to get involved in. Moreover, the latest EUGS promotes a more pragmatic and modest approach which is reflected in a further decline in the number of missions and operations under HR/VP Mogherini. These developments are paired with a continuing struggle to reach consensus among EU Member States regarding the launch of new missions and operations.

While CSDP missions are often conducted by a small number of staff, these are made up of contributions from many different Member States (Pirozzi and Sandawi, 2009, p. 11). With regards to military crisis management operations, as of 2012, there hadn't been a single one that all Member States participated in (Ginsberg and Penska, 2012, p. 147). The bigger Member States generally participate in both military and civilian missions more regularly than smaller ones. Unsurprisingly, France makes available the largest number of personnel for CSDP operations (*ibid*, p. 151). While the UK is one of the largest and most advanced military powers in the EU, in 2017 fewer than 100 military personnel were deployed on CSDP missions (out of over 13,000 deployed overseas) (Giegerich and Moelling, 2018, p. 8) Financial considerations, especially regarding the usually more expensive civilian missions, often determine the participation of smaller Member States. The reasons behind committing personnel and resources to missions also varies significantly among Member States. While bigger states often weigh up national versus European interests and take into consideration their relationships with other international actors, 'politics of scale' might be key for smaller Member States who might see their participation in CSDP missions as a

platform for gaining legitimacy and risk sharing, but perhaps most importantly, the sharing of costs (Ginsberg quoted in Holland, 2004, p. 86).

Some scholars also point to the hidden agendas behind certain CSDP missions. Biscop and Coelmont argue that certain CSDP missions were seemingly conducted merely to test CSDP processes and capabilities (2010, p. 8), or to advance the foreign policy interests of Member States (Gariup, 2009, p. 114) while others were motivated by creating a certain 'image' of a CSDP mission and the EU as an international actor (Pirozzi and Sandawi, 2009). Furthermore, they are regularly overshadowed by claims of the EU's failure to act (efficiently and timely). This is often due to Member States' differing threat perceptions, attitudes towards the use of force and the role of multilateralism in the CSDP (Nuttall, 1992, Chappell, 2009, p. 417, Keohane, 2011, p. 212, Berg, 2011, p. 1). As a result, despite boasting a significant number of operations since its inception, the EU has frequently been criticised for punching below its weight with regards to making full use of its security and defence capabilities and mainly reacting to external requests rather than acting preventatively (e.g. Kantner, 2006, Asseburg and Kempin, 2009, Pirozzi and Sandawi, 2009).

At times, missions may have been deemed as having fulfilled their mandates, yet the extent to which they have contributed to achieving the EU's long-term strategic goals for that particular region/crisis remains uncertain (Asseburg and Kempin, 2009, p. 148). The difficulty of measuring the success of a CSDP mission highlights the importance of establishing a comprehensive approach that does not only include civilian and military cooperation during a mission, but one that goes beyond the scope of the mandate and strengthens links with other EU policy tools in order to achieve long-term goals (Smith, 2011, p. 22, Kirchner, 2013).

A good example of the convoluted nature of many missions is the case of EUFOR Chad/CAR. In addition to taking three months and five force generation conferences to achieve operating capability, the mission received a considerable amount of criticism for seeming to represent French rather than EU interests (Biscop and Coelmont, 2010, p. 7). It then took six months to source a sufficient number of planes and helicopters required for the humanitarian mission to go ahead. This delay in providing a timely response is further highlighted by the fact that, in 2009, only 20% of CSDP missions had been in place within four weeks (Asseburg and Kempin, 2009, p. 5). EU missions have also suffered from staffing issues as is illustrated by the Member States' failing to supply the number of police staff authorised for the training mission in Afghanistan in 2010. (Keohane, 2012, p. 208).

Apart from one military training mission to Somalia, no other missions were launched between 2009 and 2012 despite a number of international security crises occurring (i.e., Libya, the Arab Spring, and Sudan). The way the EU has (not) dealt with the crisis in Libya is a further example of the "price of the absence of strategy", as Coelmont argues that the Union was invisible, despite its weak efforts of launching a humanitarian operation (2012, p. 4). Some EU representatives went further and declared the 'EU's security and defence policy is closed until further notice', while another argued that the 'CFSP died in Libya' (quoted in Menon, 2011, p. 76). Howorth suggests this lack of action is, to a certain extent, due to "'mission-fatigue' on the part of the EU Member States" (2014, p. xi). Other explanations for the EU's inaction include the number of significant structural changes that were implemented in this period including adjusting to the newly enlarged EU and, specifically related to the CSDP, the downsizing of many European armed forces, largely as a result of the financial crisis which put defence budgets under intense scrutiny.

There seemed to be a re-awakening of CSDP activity when in the first six months of 2012, five missions were launched in Africa. Howorth largely puts this down to intensifying cooperation efforts and closer coordination of defence planning and spending (2014, p. xii). However, instead of being established across the board, these often occur bilaterally or amongst clusters of EU Member States. Since then, all but two operations have been civilian in nature, indicating that reaching consensus on 'hard security' matters remains an issue for the EU. Smith concludes that supranational CSDP decision-making is highly unlikely in the foreseeable future (2011, p. 21). However, some suggest that with the UK, one of the biggest but also most Eurosceptic military players in Europe, set to leave the EU and therefore taking "its foot of the brake, the rest could get on with business" (Tocci, 2017, p. 94).

The Practicalities of European Security and Defence Cooperation

At the European level, CSDP missions are coordinated by a number of different agents; the main actors being the Council Secretariat, the High Representative of EU Foreign and Security Policy, as well as the Political and Security Committee, the Military Committee and the Military Staff. This means that CSDP implementation hinges on the efficient cooperation between the different stakeholders involved. This is a process that is frequently criticised internally and externally and especially complex across the different EU institutions such as the Council and the Commission. They are often seen to be working in competition rather than in collaboration with one another (Lurweg, 2011, p. 113), due to the fact that civilian crisis management tasks can be coordinated by both. Adding another dimension to the process is the fact that often more than six different types of national government

ministries from participating EU Member States also engage in putting together a CSDP operation on top of the EU level institutions involved (Smith, 2011, p. 3).

One example of the Member States' incoherent approach to conducting CSDP missions is the way in which staff are recruited for deployment. Normally, national government institutions nominate staff for a centralised selection process after which they are seconded to a CSDP mission. In her evaluation of EUMM, Šetkić remarks that in a number of countries not much time and effort is put into recruitment, resulting in underqualified or ill-prepared staff (2008, pp. 7). This is a recurring criticism that CSDP missions have had to deal with. In 2008, the European Council in conjunction with the Member States acknowledged that for coordination to improve, "dialogue, liaison, and common training" are key (Official Journal of the European Union, 2008/C 25 /01, 2008). Moreover, as Smith points out, CSDP operations often involve passing on 'European standards' to locals which necessitate a "degree of self-reflection" in order to determine what these actually are (2011, p. 17). CSDP training at EU level thus plays a crucial role in fostering coherence and coordination as it provides an opportunity for the EU to convey its values in a consistent manner.

While coordination amongst the different Member States and European institutions remains a key challenge, adopting a 'comprehensive approach' has also required increased civilian-military cooperation. This has, at times, led to a blurring of lines between the two as evidenced by missions such as EUCAP Nestor, which is classified as a civilian mission supplemented by military expertise, or EUSEC Congo paid for out of a non-military budget, but carried out by military staff (Keukeleire, 2014, p. 188). While this certainly makes operations more complex, it also allows security practitioners to make better use of the full range of tools available to them and some have thus called for a push to create a "unified

crisis intervention force" (Keohane, 2011, p. 213). However, for now it seems those involved in CSDP implementation are often still "stuck in the mindset of separate and compartmented civilian and military operations" (Leakey quoted in *ibid*).

The Changing Role of European Security Practitioners

Kirchner summarises that in addition to arranging the logistics, establishing a CSDP mission "necessitates, at minimum, a fact-finding exercise concerning the aims and objectives of the proposed effort, an analysis of appropriate instruments and measures to conduct the mission, and a decision concerning the appropriate time frame in which the intervention is to be implemented" (Kirchner, 2013, p. 38/9). The fast pace with which missions are at times put together, as well as the prolonged indecision that shapes others, makes adequate pre-deployment training difficult. Yet, the EU has started to introduce structures to tackle this problem – one of them being EU-level training for security practitioners. As Gariup points out, "the processes of social learning in situ together with the impact of international experience" contribute to the convergence of perceptions and the "creation of a EU specific Organisational Culture" (2009, P.116).

Those providing security to a community have historically held a special position in society. As the rise of the nation-state in Europe was accompanied by many violent clashes over territorial sovereignty, security was predominantly understood to evolve around the defence of a nation-state's territory and as such the responsibility of a mass army. The concept of citizenship was closely linked to providing security (Aggestam and Hyde-Price, 2000), through compulsory military service. While serving in the armed forces was generally obligatory throughout much of the 20th century, many young men were also eager to join

the armed forces, as fighting for one's country had connotations of duty, pride and respect (i.e. Wallace, 1991, p. 74). This made the mobilisation of mass armies during the two world wars considerably easier. Compared to the modern soldier, members of these mass forces were often fairly unskilled, and their role evolved solely around fighting to deter aggression towards their nation or applying force to accomplish their country's political goals (Dandeker and Gow, 1999, p. 61).

However, while territorial defence continues to be the ultimate justification for having national militaries, it is no longer the most likely reason for deploying the armed forces (Manigart, 2001, p. 6). This has resulted in a move away from mass armies and conscription after the Cold War (and in some case even before then). The end of the East-West conflict meant that Europe had a "surplus of security" that it was now able to export (Bailes, 2008, p. 116). Subsequent rapid changes in the international security environment have required the military to undergo a considerable transformation, both in terms of role and capabilities. With territorial integrity no longer being a threat to most European countries and ever-increasing multilateral cooperation on security matters, the role of the military has largely refocused on the prevention of war or peacekeeping. As the CDSP missions' staffing problems and the frequent inability to source appropriate military equipment have shown, the armed forces in the EU are far from being adapted to fulfilling their new roles. In fact, it is estimated that only about one tenth of the European armed forces are deployable (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 177). The change in the nature of security challenges has required the development of a very different skillset. As conscription has been phased out in almost all EU Member States, the subsequent 'professionalisation' of the soldier has led to many members of the armed forces starting to consider themselves as "soldier-statesmen rather than combat leaders or managers of violence" (Moskos and Burk quoted in Gariup,

2009). This shift in role perceptions can not only be noted amongst military personnel; it is also evident in society. While the military had traditionally been quite detached from society in terms of training/education, daily life and customs, they often developed a very distinct military culture. But involvement in the implementation of the CSDP, with its seeming focus on 'soft power' and non-coercive approach, is becoming more common, as evidenced by 15,000 EU personnel having been involved in CSDP operations by 2012 (Ginsberg and Penska, 2012, p. 145). The changed nature of security provision also appears to diminish the centrality of the military. Since the end of the Second World War, the use of military force in the EU has increasingly been regulated by international institutions and conducted through multilateral channels such as NATO and the United Nations (UN), making the work of the military less about the protection of the nation-state and more about assisting the international community. The role of the military is no longer perceived to be crucial to the wellbeing of society. In fact, members of the armed forces are often faced with scepticism and apathy from the public (Manigart, 2001, p. 8).

Non-Military Approaches to Security Provision

In addition to changing role perceptions of the military, interacting and collaborating with civilians in crisis regions has become central to the work of the armed forces more recently. The EU's adoption of a 'comprehensive approach' to dealing with security threats has not only led to an intensification of civilian-military cooperation, it has also continued to promote the EU's preference for non-coercive conflict prevention. This rapprochement between military and civilian security provision is also reflected in the training and education of staff. While courses organised by the ESDC are aimed at bringing together both

groups of professionals, military education in EU Member States also increasingly includes components from civilian political science education.

Conclusion to Chapter 2

This chapter has highlighted the extent to which security has changed in Europe since the Cold War. Moreover, it has stressed how the roles of those tasked with providing security have been adapted to respond to the changed global security environment and there is no doubt that the EU has been trying to establish a more joined-up approach and a strategic culture amongst those implementing the CSDP. While there has been plenty of discussion regarding the EU's external identity and its role as a global actor by evaluating CSDP missions, little research has been carried out into how the changing nature of security provision and increasing EU security cooperation has affected notions of identity amongst those involved on the ground. When assessing the EU's attempts at facilitating the creation of a solid European strategic culture which arguably revolves around a shared understanding of values, norms and interest, it is therefore crucial to not only focus on elite socialisation, but to consider how security practitioners' identities and role perceptions affect the security integration process. Are EU identity narratives absorbed by the practitioners or do they remain prevalent only amongst elite decision-makers? If they are, what do they look like and do they contribute to the 'Europeanisation' of security and defence at the national level? These questions will be tackled in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Landscape

Ever since its inception, the EU has had to confront legitimacy problems, and while pursuing a common security and defence policy is in theory supported by all Member States, its practical implementation is often considered to be lacking due to varying levels of commitment from national governments.

From official documents and speeches, it is clear that the EU sees itself as becoming a significant international actor; a normative power which seeks to diffuse its liberal democratic values across the globe. Yet, to become an efficient global player, it needs to be perceived as such externally and at least as importantly, internally. While security and defence have become a lot more closely integrated in the last two decades, individual Member States retain sovereignty over all decision-making. This means that the EU needs to persuade those tasked with providing security to adopt a more 'European approach' that is not simply limited to benefitting from the pooling and sharing of resources but acknowledges that there are common European values and interests that are best protected and achieved through cooperation. It is therefore often argued that a sense of shared identity amongst Europeans is crucial for the future of the EU to "facilitate the ever-increasing reach of European policy making" (Karolewski, 2006, p. 159).

There are numerous interpretations of the concept of European identity from the EU's identity as an international actor to individuals' conceptions of what it means to be European. This chapter explores a number of notions of 'European identity', but as it is primarily focused on the link between individual practitioners and the EU as an institutional source of identification, it investigates the juncture between personal interpretations of

European identity and the EU's attempts at narrating an EU identity with the aim to define a European integration identity which may be emerging amongst CSDP practitioners.

Such a complex subject inevitably invites a multifaceted synergy of explanations involving multiple concepts. One of the key concepts is that of identity and the processes that contribute to its shaping. As such, theories dealing with the theorisation of identity form the macro-level explanations of this thesis. The meso-level of theorisation engages with the concept of "strategic narratives" and uses this as a framework to explore the much-debated concept of "European identity' and how the EU is trying to shape it. The micro-level theorisation used in this thesis deals with theory of identity on an individual level.

Both the macro and the micro-levels of theorisation dealing with the concepts of shared and individual identity will be discussed in this chapter while the concept of "strategic narratives" will be examined in the next chapter.

Firstly, as many argue that the EU is becoming more and more state-like, the possibility of extrapolating the concept of national identity to the level of Europe and the EU, as well as the potential Europeanisation of national identities will be explored. This will be followed by an examination of the concept of constitutional patriotism and the idea of the EU being a projector of European (or universal?) norms and values internally, but also as an international actor. Lastly, this chapter will investigate how civic and cultural components from these interpretations of European identity may come together to forge a European (integration) identity amongst CSDP practitioners.

European identity is a concept that has been widely discussed over the last few decades due to the increasing scope of the EU as well as the constant evolution of identification world-wide. Yet, it is also one that is difficult to define due to its fluid nature. As Hardwick and

Mansfield point out, identities are "responsive to differing contexts" thus undergoing continuous construction and reconstruction through our relationships with others (2009, p. 386). Processes such as globalisation, regional movements and an increase in multilateral cooperation through supranational organisations, such as the EU, lead to a "deterritorialization of social identity" (Hoerder in Haupt, 2009, p.257). This results in more "overlapping, permeable and multiple forms of identity (*ibid.*). Yet, whether or not these developments have the power to change the *status quo*, the nation-state as primary source of identification is a contested issue (e.g. Hall , 1993). After all, the extent to which the public identify with non-state but nevertheless state-like actors such as the EU very much depends on two factors: elites' active efforts to create an identity for EU institutions, which Bruter believes is the most common way of constructing a sense of community (2005, p. 26), as well as the level of engagement with the institutions by individuals in their daily lives (Fouberg, 2002).

Furthermore, recent developments such as the UK's decision to exit from the EU, the refugee crisis and the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis increasingly seem to have put into question the idea of a sense of solidarity or common identity within the EU and, if anything, have led to a re-emergence of "Eurosceptic populism" in many Member States (Tocci, 2018, p. 131).

In 1870, Renan argued that for an institution to be legitimate there needs to be a common desire amongst the individuals it serves to be part of the same community. Castells concurs and believes a collective identity would result in many Europeans feeling that "they belong to a distinctive European culture and institutional system that appeals to them as legitimate and worthwhile" (quoted in Gould and Messina, 2014, p. 3). With regards to the attitude of

practitioners towards European integration, in 1972, Stogdill hypothesised that strongly identifying with a group or organisation leads to individuals working harder (quoted in Juncos and Pomorska, 2014, p. 305). Furthermore, a number of academics have pointed to the reciprocal relationship between identity and European unification. Kaina and Karolewski state that as European integration increasingly affects the lives of ordinary Europeans, their support or lack thereof also becomes progressively more significant for successful European integration (Kaina and Karolewski, 2013). This reciprocal relationship is further underlined by McDonagh, who claims that while identities are constructed through political practices, they also define those very practices (2014, p. 3), thus making the people implementing political decisions into key figures in the integration process.

Do We Need a EU(ropean) Identity in Security and Defence?

With the creation of the ESDC in 2005, the EU set out to make the implementation of the CSDP more efficient by facilitating the emergence of a common strategic culture amongst European military and civilian personnel. The network college's goal is to coordinate multinational training on CSDP matters, thus providing a platform for communicating the EU's strategic vision regarding security and defence. This development indicates that decision-making elites recognise the importance of disseminating their vision for the future of the EU down to the practitioners, as they need them to 'buy into' these aspirations to gain legitimacy and to shape a common approach to European security and defence.

Eurobarometer findings from 2018 suggest that Europeans are increasingly optimistic again about the future of the EU (61% are optimistic compared to 50% between 2015 and 2016) (Special Eurobarometer 479 – The future of Europe). Furthermore, fewer people indicate

they have a negative image of the EU (21% compared to 40% positive and 37% neutral) compared to 2015/16 (27% negative, 34% positive and 38% neutral), which is when primary data was collected for this thesis. These fluctuations may be linked to dissatisfaction at the height of the irregular migrant crisis and the run-up to and aftermath of the United Kingdom voting to leave the EU. Trust in the EU in 2018 is at its highest since 2010 (Standard Barometer 89, 2018) and many respondents seem to trust the EU more than their national governments. While these findings suggest that the general public feels more positive about the EU again, there has also been an increase in nationalist movements and anti-EU sentiments from national governments which appear to put into question the EU's aim of an 'ever closer Union'. This is also attested by studies showing that recent crises "significantly intensified political conflicts on national sovereignty and solidarity" (Grande and Kriesi in Risse, 2014, p. 211).

These developments underline the importance of examining the link between identity and European integration and the interplay between national and European levels of identification amongst security practitioners.

Models for a European Identity

European Identity and National Identity

The EU has undergone a significant process of expansion and transformation since its inception as a Coal and Steel Community in 1951 to develop into the EU that it is today. Its ongoing growth has led some to argue that it is becoming more and more state-like in terms of its role and purpose (Hix and Høyland, 2011, p. 12). Indeed, the EU has now developed security and defence capacities which are often considered one of the defining

characteristics of the nation-state and closely linked to national identity as Hill and Wallace point out: “Effective foreign policy rests upon a shared sense of national identity, of a nation-state’s ‘place in the world’, its friends and enemies, its interests and aspirations” (Hill, 1996, p. 8). While it is not argued here that the EU is clearly aiming to become the ‘United States of Europe’, these developments mean that comparisons with the concept of national identity are frequently drawn (Moes, 2012) and therefore require discussion in order to grasp the complex idea of European identity.

National identity is a term that is used in many different contexts and defined in numerous ways. However, “on a general level, the term national identity describes the basically positive, subjectively important emotional bond with a nation” (Tajfel and Turner quoted in Blank and Schmidt, 2003, p. 290). Furthermore, this bond requires individuals to imagine a sense of community with a large number of people, most of which they will never meet (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). More specifically, Deutsch and subsequently Smith define national identity as a certain “territorial boundedness, a shared nature of myths of origin and historical memories, a common bond of mass, standardised culture [and language], a common territorial division of labour and mobility and a unified system of common legal rights and duties” (Deutsch, 1953, Smith, 1992, p. 60). This bond is not merely a passive identification, many argue that it requires individuals to actively participate in the nation – (state). Johnston *et al.* thus define nations as communities “of people whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity rooted in an historic attachment to a homeland and common culture and often language and religion” (2000, p. 532). Aggestam further notes that it was the emergence of nationalism that evoked the idea that one’s identity and loyalty lies with a nation, which subsequently requires the creation of a state (2000, p. 90). It can thus be deduced that while national identity has cultural components, it also invokes

support for and loyalty to the institutions that help to protect and promote the values and interests of the group. Indeed, Aggestam *et al.* argue that the ability to protect from external threats is a key factor in ensuring one's identification with a political community (1999).

Just as nation-states only emerged over the last few centuries, national identities are a modern construct. Scholars believe that there are numerous nation-building structures that aid the construction of national identities. A key pillar of national identity is the feeling of sharing a common past, often created through national myths and the reinterpretation of historical events. Anderson, amongst others, therefore emphasises the importance of a centralised education system and common language, as well as national mass media in creating shared cultural values (2006, p. 7, see also Billig, 1995, p. 6) and a belief in a common destiny. National identities provide a cultural framework, which enables citizens to make sense of their lives (Pennycook, 1995) at the same time as facilitating another key process, that of othering, or uniting the citizens of one nation against outsiders (Colley, 1992, p. 311) and thereby reinforcing a sense of belonging.

All these identity-creating mechanisms can however also be used to turn a sense of national identity and feelings of patriotism into extreme nationalism, one of the prime examples being Nazi Germany. While such extreme cases of imagining collective identity are rare, Anderson argues, it is the sense of belonging to a national community "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail" which is not only conceived as a "deep, horizontal comradeship", but "ultimately […] makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 2006, p. 5). While these factors have contributed to the creation of

national identities in Europe, “nations are merely one of the many ways humans have devised [...] to endow large numbers of people with certain collective identities” (Fulbrook, 1999, p. 232) and they are not fixed, but constantly evolving. Furthermore, there is little disagreement that (national) identity is essentially multifaceted (e.g. Smith, 1991, p. 14, Varsori and Petricioli in Frank (*eds.*)*,* 2004, p. 90), consisting of many layers which may at times be contesting.

The emergence of nation-states created an identity that, it can be argued, attempted to usurp smaller regional identities, which had existed long before the concept of the modern nation state became the norm. It is thus not surprising that the idea of regionalism and regional identities still make up an important component of many Europeans’ identities. One’s region provides a vital marker and is often highlighted by different dialects and accents, different cultural customs, histories and memory. As a result, strong regional movements continue to be a phenomenon in Europe, such as Catalunya in Spain and Tirol in Italy. Indeed, it is often argued that the continued existence of regional identities is the essence of European identity.

Brubaker and Cooper make an important point in highlighting the contextual and situational nature of identification (2000, p. 14). Moreover, Guisan stresses that citizens are very much capable of having a number of different identities and attachments and that “national and EU identities need not conflict” (2012, p. 9). Yet previous studies have shown that if an allegiance to the EU emerges, this tends to be secondary to pre-existing, primarily national, identifications. This raises the question of whether the seemingly continuing supremacy of national identities in Europe renders the creation of a European identity pervasive enough to conjure up similar feelings and support impossible. Kosher argues that the interplay of

many competing national identities in Europe leads to an active suppression of "non-national identities" (quoted in Gillis, 1994, p. 220). While recent independence movements within states such as Spain and the United Kingdom indicate that non-national identities are far from supressed, there is no doubt that competing national identities result in competing interpretations of 'European identity'.

The concept of national identity seems to provide a basis for understanding emerging ideas of European identity. Yet, while it is possible to apply some of these institution-linked attributes to the EU, it is clear that others are problematic in a European context. As Duchesne claims, while the EU increasingly behaves like a full-fledged polity similar to a nation-state, it is evident that attempts at creating a European cultural identity similar to national identity through symbols such as the European flag, Europe Day and a European anthem have thus far largely failed as these clash with national identities (2008, p. 405).

The Europeanisation of National Identities

A slightly different view of an (evolving) European identity is that we are in fact not witnessing the emergence of a distinct European identity, but that national identities are undergoing a process of "Europeanisation" (Risse, 2010, p. 5). This development, Risse claims, resembles a "marble cake", where identities intersect and blend with one another and a sense of "Europeanness" is incorporated into national identities (2006, p. 305). This idea of a Europeanisation of national identities is shared by a significant number of scholars (Ladrech, 1994; and Breuer, 2011; Gariup, 2009; Milzow, 2012; Waever, 2005; and Larsen, 2013), who also apply it to a foreign policy context. Indeed, while it is often argued that especially the CSDP has been "nationalised" by certain Member States (see Gariup, 2009)

and become a tool to pursue national security and defence interests (Hyde-Price, 2006, p. 226/7), others also believe that a Europeanisation of national policy-making is taking place. They argue that cooperation at EU level leads to the Europeanisation of national policies in so far that the EU's norms and values promoted in the CSDP become part of the "organisational logic of national politics and policy making" (Breuer, 2011, p. 118 and Ladrech, 1994, p. 69). Their supposition is based on the institutional socialisation of elites.

Furthermore, Risse also alleges that more frequent discussions of European matters in national media may lead to the creation of a "European public sphere" (quoted in Kaina and Karolewski, 2013, p. 12). This would seemingly facilitate the proliferation of shared European values and thus contribute to the construction of an 'imagined [European] community' (Anderson, 1991) in the same way that national identities are created and maintained. This notion of a European public sphere however must be considered with caution as mainstream news largely continue to be framed at a national level. While national media often reach global audiences and might raise awareness of the European integration process, they do so from a distinctly national point of view, which means European issues are likely to be interpreted differently with the interests of the various states in mind rather than a coherent supranational manner. Rather than creating a truly European public sphere, this potentially reinforces the status quo of supporting EU decision-making only when it clearly benefits a nation-state's interests rather than leading to recognition of shared values and norms amongst Europeans. However, social media are continuously gaining importance as sources of information for a large number of Europeans. The EU started using social media in 2004 by launching blogs written by high officials, cabinet members and MEPs (Koskinen, 2013, p. 84), and since the implementation of "Plan

D", has been "particularly active in 'new' and social media forms" (Badouard and Monnoyer-Smith quoted in Bain and Chaban, 2016, p. 139), thus providing an online platform for directly interacting with European citizens. It has since added a YouTube channel, various Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, etc. Koskinen argues that through its use of social media, the EU is trying to create a shared European public sphere that has failed to emerge through national media (2013, pp. 89-90). Bain and Chaban observe that the EU's attempts at directly communicating with individuals there "go far beyond parallel activities by Member States" (2016, p. 140). Social media have the potential to foster a Europe-wide public sphere less influenced by national media, but as a relatively new medium and especially in the age of 'fake news', its actual impact on citizens' perceptions of and attitudes towards the EU require further examination.

European Identity = Constitutional Patriotism?

Does this mean that transposing the idea of national identity to the European level is not possible? Habermas believes that a shared European identity is certainly possible, but also claims that it cannot share the same characteristics as national identity. He believes that "the divisive force of divergent national histories and historical experiences that traverse the European territory like geographic fault lines remains potent" (quoted in Gould, A. and Messina, A, 2014, p. 13). If Europe cannot define itself along the lines of a nation-state, what sort of identity should it seek to create for itself? After all, it is not a nation-state but a unique international polity with unique characteristics. Some scholars have suggested that a way of overcoming the problem of opposing national identities is by building a European identity on the very diversity that Habermas refers to as problematic. For instance, Bottici

contends that while experiences and memories of the two World Wars vary significantly between Member States, they have resulted in a unanimous desire for peace that has the potential to unite member-states (in Cerutti and Lucarelli, 2008, p. 50). Kohli therefore suggests that rather than using a potentially disputed "external other" or enemy to create a sense of solidarity and belonging, the EU faces a common internal enemy – its nationalistic past (2000, p. 128).

Trying to construct a European identity using similar means to those used to create national identities is however very problematic. While scholars such as Kohli are right in suggesting that the wars of the 20th century serve to unite Europeans in their efforts to safeguard peace on the continent, recent history is far from a common or shared European history. Garton-Ash points out that any attempts at modelling the construction of European identity on national identities should be avoided as it would require the re-telling of "European history as the kind of teleological mythology characteristic of 19th-century nation-building" (2007, p. 1). Furthermore, he alludes to the nation described by Renan as a community of shared memory and shared forgetting; also pointing out that what one nation wishes to forget, another wishes to remember. He concludes that "our new European story will never generate the kind of fiery allegiances that were characteristic of the pre-1914 nation state. […] Europeanness remains a secondary, cooler identity. Europeans today are not called upon to die for Europe. […] All that is required is that we should let Europe live." (*ibid*). Other advocates of a post-national conception of European identity concur and argue that membership of a "particular cultural and historical community no longer constitutes a sufficient base for citizenship" (Ferry and Thibaud 1992, quoted in Lacroix 2002). According

to them, a collective identity can only function at a European level if it is built on Universalist values shared by all Europeans.

This interpretation of European identity is closely linked to Habermas' and Sternberger's concept of constitutional patriotism (1979) which suggests that a sense of solidarity amongst citizens is created through a constitutive document shared and celebrated by all. Scholars favouring an identity based constitutional patriotism refer to the United States of America as a successful example of identity construction based on a constitution rather than notions of a shared past and culture. They advise that it will not be until Europeans decide to vote for a constitution that they will feel truly unified (Habermas, 2001). Having failed to ratify a European Constitution in 2005, the idea of establishing such a treaty seems unlikely in the near future.

Perhaps it is not surprising though, that such an identity centred on constitutional patriotism focusing on universal values seems to be promoted by European institutions themselves (Risse, 2006, p. 7). Many scholars (such as Follesdal 2002; Berdun 2007; Pinxten, Cornelis, and Rubinstein 2007, all quoted in Gould, A. and Messina, A. 2014) point to the preamble of the Lisbon Treaty as a foundation upon which a European identity may be constructed. It comprises the universal values which the EU is founded on, namely "the principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights" (Lisbon Treaty, 2007). Indeed, Checkel and Katzenstein are of the opinion that Europeans "support the EU because they largely agree with the goals and principles that it embodies" (2009, p. 86). Moreover, while Europe-wide surveys such as Eurobarometer seem to attest a considerable amount of public support for integration in matters such as the economy and foreign policy (Smith, M., 2011, p. 626), there is little awareness of the EU being a security provider. Despite some

awareness of the various EU institutions, knowledge of the many intergovernmental and supranational political processes amongst the public often remains limited (Kantner, 2006, p. 511). Kaina argues that one of the main factors impeding the emergence of anything more than basic public support is the EU's ever-evolving nature which means citizens struggle to come to terms with its size, scope and purpose. Even polities that were created decades ago, such as the European Parliament and Commission, are thus often criticised for lacking transparency and legitimacy as well as efficient mechanisms for input from EU citizens (Kaina, 2013, p. 8). Regardless of the potential benefits of decision-making at EU level, Europeans often feel detached from the political processes and European institutions are frequently accused of suffering from a democratic deficit – for being too complex to be fully understood by many EU citizens and too distant from their everyday lives.

This often means "their [European citizens'] sense of who they are remains anchored at the national or local levels" (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009, p. 86). Citizens united by a shared belief in these values should subsequently also want to "participate in legitimating activities of their common fairs" (Lacroix, 2002, p. 955). However, scholars point out that there is little evidence that these values have a truly uniting effect and without the interpretation of these values as distinctly European, Kumm argues, EU citizens will continue to fluctuate between "fickle support and a lack of interest in European political life" (2007, p. 119). A variation on this theory comes from Risse, who states that while Europeans may behave like "constitutional patriots", they only do so selectively (quoted in Cerutti and Lucarelli 2008, p. 8), e.g. they voted against a constitution, but did not seem to have any significant objections to a move towards a common security and defence policy (Eurobarometer quoted in Cerutti and Lucarelli 2008, p. 9). The level and nature of support for the integration of, or increased

cooperation on, security and defence at EU level amongst CSDP practitioners will be investigated in the empirical section of this study.

Current Notions of European Identity: One Phrase – Many Interpretations

Attempts to measure European identity are frequently undertaken, but usually prove to be problematic and complex due to the abstract nature of the term. Depending on who you talk to, you will receive very different responses to the question: What is European identity? Notions of European identity lie at the juncture of a number of different disciplines and extensive research has been undertaken into theories of collective identity in Europe. While many definitions of collective identity evolve around an acknowledgement of sharing certain features or values, as well as a "recognition of shared opportunities and constraints afforded by those features" (Owens *et al*., 2010, p. 490), interpretations vary considerably. Some scholars focus on the identity the EU is trying to project externally, others look inwards at how European citizens identify as individuals. It is therefore important to consider different interpretations of European identity and how they relate to each other.

Meri points out that "when we speak of Europe, we all presume that we know what Europe is. Yet every European nation has a different view of Europe (in Moes, 2009, p. 107). By adopting the motto "Unity through Diversity", the EU has recognised this ambiguity and attempted to incorporate it into its identity. In addition, it is obvious that the public frequently refer to Europe and the EU interchangeably, thus adding a further dimension to this vague concept. While the EU has clear borders, the borders of 'Europe' are much more open to interpretation, making it problematic to pin down exactly what people refer to

when discussing their notions of European identity. Rumelili and Cebeci therefore suggest avoiding a narrow definition in empirical research, but instead to "leave it up to the respective individual to associate whatever comes to mind" (quoted in Kaina *et al*., 2015, p. 73). The relationship between Europe and the EU in relation to notions of identity is examined more closely in Chapter 8b.

In order to better understand the notion of European identity amongst EU practitioners, this study investigates the interplay of different concepts of European identity that shape individuals' understandings of the term. On the one hand, there is the official rhetoric used to describe the EU's role as an international actor. While the EU's international or external identity promoted by EU officials could be classed as a top-down undertaking, there are also civic and cultural notions of European identity which focus more on identifications with Europe on a personal level. All however shape security practitioners' notions of European identity and thus require detailed discussion and analysis.

Civic and Cultural Pillars of European Identity

While individuals often do not differentiate between civic and cultural aspects of (European) identity, scholars point to the necessity to examine them separately, conceptually as well as empirically (Bruter, 2008, p. 280). Civic identity often refers to allegiance to and support of the EU as an institution, which seemingly represents European norms and values. Bruter adds that this involves acknowledging that "this political system defines some of her/his rights and duties as a political being" (*ibid*, p. 279). Cultural identity on the other hand is the recognition of fellow Europeans as members of the same group (Gvozden in Hanshew, 2008, p. 9). This perspective may be achieved through different means such as cultural similarities,

perceived common “Christian” values and norms, a sense of having a shared past or even ethnicity (Bruter in Herrmann *et al.*, 2004, p. 190).

This breakdown of political identity is similar to that of Easton, who, in 1965, delineated “political regime support” and feeling part of the same community as two separate concepts. He further argued that while a sense of solidarity is desirable and advantageous for the continued existence of a political entity, it is not actually vital for its survival, as support can develop merely through participation in its political processes (p. 186, also see Fuss and Grosser in Kaina *et al*., 2015). With particular reference to Europe, Bruter believes that support for European institutions presents an integral step towards a collective European identity. This leads him to conclude that while a cultural European identity might not currently exist, the public’s support for EU policy-making may, over time, lead to the socialisation of European citizens and bring about a collective European identity which includes a cultural perspective (2005). This argument however seems to downplay the ‘democratic deficit’ often associated with the EU. Many scholars argue that the complexity of EU policy-making accompanied by substantial bureaucracy present a major obstacle to fostering widespread public support for policy-making at EU level. This leads many integration theorists to argue that support for EU policy-making will only flourish once a cultural community exists (Gould and Messina, 2014, p. 2).

Not dissimilar to Bruter in terms of different aspects of European identity, but more focused on different levels of identification, Kantner proposes a three-level model of European identity that is built around the two pillars mentioned above: the basic level refers to everyone who is capable of interacting with others (2005, p. 507), thus forming the universal ‘we_1 community’ – but it is the two following levels, weak and strong identity, that

are of relevance to this research. She supposes that weak collective identities are present in a so-called 'we$_2$ commercium' group where "everyone follows their own idiosyncratic desires and purposes" and sees the group as "a club or neighbourhood" rather than "a family" (2006, p. 8). She states that a "weak" collective identity already exists amongst Europeans and is reflected in the public's general support for decisions being taken at EU level. It is characterised by individuals' recognition of cooperation with other group members being conducive to achieving personal goals (2005, pp. 507, 512) thus reflecting neo-realist thinking on the value of European cooperation. Yet, any feelings of sharing common values and goals with fellow Europeans are absent at this level. This type of identification also implies that other pre-existing identities prevail over the European one. While Kantner also maintains that a weak European identity is "sufficient for the democratisation of the EU" (*ibid*, p. 512), she concedes that such a generalisation requires validation by testing it against individual policy issues (*ibid*, p. 516) and that certain situations, such as the deployment of European soldiers into war zones, might indeed necessitate greater public support than that created through a weak collective identity (*ibid*, p. 513).

In Kantner's model, a strong collective identity is present in we$_2$ communio groups. Members of these groups share certain values and an understanding of what is considered a "good life" (2006, p. 9). Furthermore, these groups are characterised by a shared ethical self-understanding which underpins the pursuit of common interests and collective projects and thus defines a common vision of the future (2006, p. 512). Other scholars define such a collective identity as "the idea that a group of people accept a fundamental and consequential similarity that causes them to feel solidarity amongst themselves" (Therborn, 1995, Brubaker and Cooper, 2000 quoted in Fligstein *et al.*, 2012, p. 107). Such collective

identities, Kantner argues, are reproduced through members being born into these communities and subsequently being "socialised into their basic ethical convictions" but also by people coming together and establishing new groups to "pursue a common ethical project" (2006, p. 10). However, she also argues that strong collective identities are uncommon in today's society and only emerge as a result of major crises which are experienced collectively (*ibid*, p. 513, see also Berger in Katzenstein *et al*., 1996). However, she does not define the magnitude needed for a crisis to trigger such a strong collective identity.

According to Eurobarometer, the number of people identifying primarily with Europe has not increased since the first time a question about self-identification was asked in 1992. In fact, the last time this question was asked (Eurobarometer 89, 2018), it had decreased to 2% (from 4% in 1992). Recent developments such as the Euro debt crisis, the increased occurrence of terrorism across Europe and the refugee influx could all be interpreted as major crises affecting the majority of EU citizens. Yet, if anything, they seem to have had the opposite effect in that nationalistic and anti-EU sentiments have spiked across the EU. Eurobarometer polls indicate that in 2015 at the time of primary data collection for this thesis, only 32% of European respondents trusted in the EU (the lowest having been 31% in 2012/13), whereas in 2007 this figure peaked at 53% and most recently stood at 42%

(2018). Delibasic points out that instead of developing a stronger European identity through the realisation of "sitting in the same boat" and hence sharing the same goals, the crisis seemingly stressed (pre-existing) distrust of EU institutions and fellow Europeans (2013, p. 305).

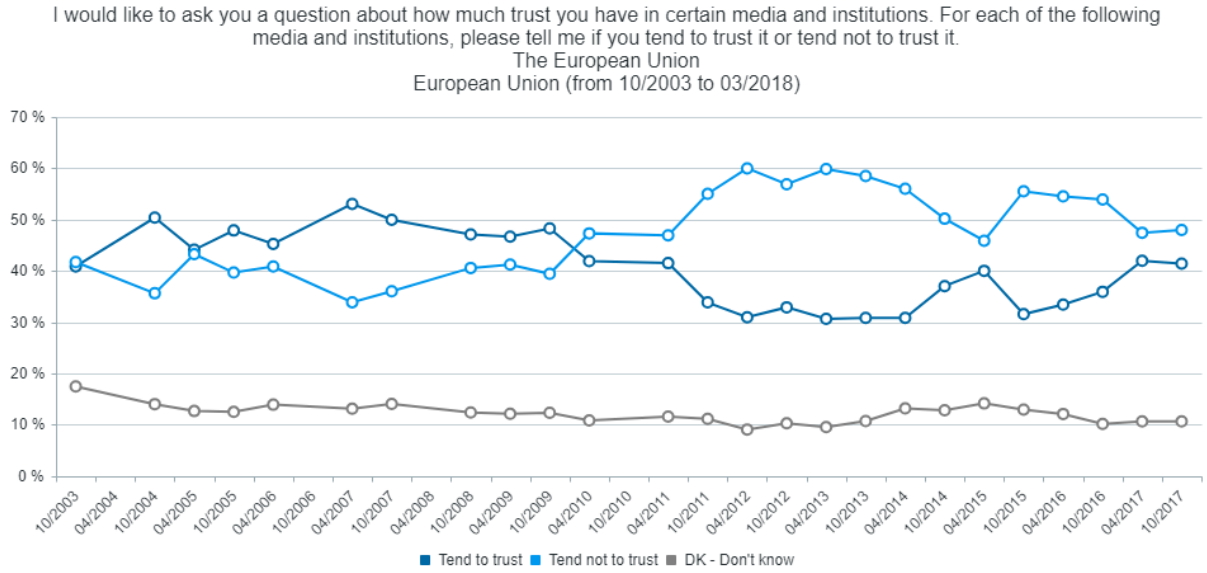

FIGURE 1 EUROBAROMETER SURVEY RESULTS - TRUST IN EU

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm

More recent data on trust in the EU as shown in *Figure 1* above supports this finding. This thesis seeks to determine whether the implementation of the CSDP might have the potential to activate a 'strong European identity' amongst those involved. In addition, one also has to evaluate whether Kantner's proposed progression from weak to strong identity can also develop over a long period of time and through the common training and education of CSDP practitioners rather than merely through substantial crises.

However, there are a group of people in Europe, those working directly for the EU or on issues related to European integration, who are confronted with the elites' vision for the EU and complexities of EU integration, on a daily basis. A specific group of practitioners, those

working on implementing the CSDP, are the subjects of this study, thus making it important to also consider institutional identity building processes.

Juncos and Pomorska, who investigated the emergence of an *esprit de corps* amongst EEAS staff argue that for such a sentiment to emerge amongst practitioners, a certain number of conditions need to exist. These are "leadership, communication, public image, mutual trust and training" (2014, p. 302). The importance of training for establishing this *esprit de corps*, which is the focus of this study, has also been underlined by other scholars such as Cross (2011), and Lloveras Soler (2011). Previous studies have shown that, in the context of foreign policy implementation, national individuals develop a certain *esprit de corps* due to being "exposed to a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding" (Beyers, 2002, in Juncos and Pomorska, 2014, p. 305). Bicchi's study of the CORespondance EUropéenne (COREU) network concerned the emergence of a "community of practice" amongst foreign policy workers. She defined the concept as "a group of people who routinely share a practice of communication and collective learning" (2011, p. 1119). Like Kantner, Bicchi argues that members of these communities develop a sense of "shared enterprise" mainly through communication, but also training (*ibid*.). She concludes that "the gap between self-contained national polities can be and has been bridged by officials who in their daily activities support the weaving together of a common cognitive framework" (2011, p. 1128).

While her concept helps understand the processes of communication amongst foreign policy workers using the COREU network which, for many, have become routine, collective learning has not yet become routine amongst CSDP practitioners to anything like the same extent.

The concept of esprit de corps is often used in different ways, referring to "the collegial atmosphere within a group, an identification with the goals and values of an organization, or the emergence of supranational identities among EU and national officials" (Juncos and Pomorska, 2014, p. 305). However, Juncos and Pomorska extend this definition as "the emergence of shared beliefs and values among the individuals within a group and a desire among those individuals (in this case, EEAS officials) to achieve a common goal" (*ibid*). Nuttall points out that this sentiment goes beyond Kantner's we_2 commercium as it is "rarely the product of a cold calculation of reciprocal interest. It stemmed rather from the process of socialization, the feeling of belonging to a club" (2000, p. 272). It is obvious that despite not using the term identity, the concept of esprit de corps is very closely related to notions of European identity.

Yet Trondal 's study of identification amongst EU committee members highlights that whereas national identifications may remain dominant, other identifications also emerge from supranational collaboration. He remarks that if feelings of European identity emerge amongst staff, these often refer only to a specific institution rather than the EU as a whole (2002, p. 476). As security practitioners (both military and civilian) often work for institutions with strong organisational cultures, (Payan, 2006, p. 105) it is worth investigating the extent to which these institutional cultures are perceived to transcend national boundaries and may shape notions of a European security culture. When conducting research, one therefore needs to extrapolate whether notions of European identity amongst individuals encompass the whole of the EU or are institutional/professional identities.

While differentiations between weak and strong identities and cultural and civic pillars are very useful for analysing identification amongst those involved in implementing the CSDP, it is also crucial to consider the notions of European identity CSDP practitioners are confronted with through their work - the narratives used by the EU to project itself externally as well as internally.

The EU as an International Actor – Normative Power Europe?

In a time where internal criticism and a degree of uncertainty about the EU's future direction are a common occurrence, the views and opinions of those tasked with implementing its policies with regards to European integration are more important than ever. Especially security and defence have increasingly shifted to the forefront of many people's minds as recent developments such as the conflict in eastern Ukraine, numerous terrorist attacks and the irregular migration crisis seem to have increased people's safety concerns. Furthermore, the US has been criticising other NATO members for their lack of financial commitment to NATO resulting in a somewhat strained relationship (Clementi *et al.,* 2017, p. 524), thus shifting focus further onto EU security and defence. This begs the question of how CSDP staff perceive the EU's role as a security actor and whether they themselves accept the identity that the EU, as a security actor, is trying to project in order to strengthen its efforts to implement the CSDP.

When considering if and how security practitioners identify with and support the EU, it is important to consider what kind of international actor and, more specifically, security provider the EU is aiming to be and the kind of identity it is projecting externally. The development of the EU's own military capabilities led to renewed debates on the shape of

the EU's international identity. It put into question whether the CSDP was merely a response to changes in the international system, or whether this new policy represented a concentrated effort to develop a distinctly different international identity. Did the development of a military element mark a departure from 'civilian power Europe' and a move towards resembling a more traditional military (super) power? Or does the EU remain a normative power as suggested by Manners in 2002?

The idea of the EU as a civilian power emerged not long after the Second World War (Smith in Holland, ed., 2005, p. 79). The European Community's (EC) interactions with other states remained largely confined to the use of diplomacy, mainly in economic form, and without the use of high diplomacy over the following decades (Smith, 2003, p. 559). Duchêne defined the EC as a civilian power "whose strength lies in its ability to promote and encourage stability through economic and political means" (quoted in Whitman, 2013, p. 174). It is often argued that despite the EC/EU lacking concrete material means to interfere in international affairs, its universal values and norms enabled it to employ "soft security" as a way to establish itself as a prominent international player (Therborn quoted in Youngs, 2004, p. 416). The end of the Cold War and the creation of the CSDP in the early 2000s led to renewed debates about the EU as an international actor. Manners developed an alternative to traditional concepts with regards to the EU's power – one that favours spreading norms and values over relying only on military or economic measures (Diez and Manners in Berenskoetter *et al.*, 2007, p. 175). Furthermore, he defined a normative power as one that strives to "judge or direct human conduct", thus shaping "conceptions of 'normal' in international relations" (Manners, 2002, 239). Focusing on the power of norms and values represented a shift away from employing a state-centred approach to European

Studies (Whitman, 2013, p. 172) and while it was built on the work of Duchêne (in Kohnstamm *et al*., 1973), it was also distinctly different. Whitman argues that Duchêne's 'civilian power' inherently acknowledges the importance of material power, whereas normative power focuses on "non-material exemplification found in the contagion of norms" (2013, p. 174).

There is little doubt that the EU sees itself as having a normative role as evidenced by a statement from former European Commission President Barroso who indicated that the EU is one of the world's key normative powers that sets standards for other countries (quoted in Peterson , 2012, p. 5). Furthermore, while it can be inferred from EU policy documents that the EU tries to project itself as a "peacebuilder in the world" (Diez in Manners, 2002, p. 213, Aggestam, 2008, p. 25), Manners makes it clear that his interpretation of the concept of normative power Europe is far from any (neo-)colonial civilising practices. Instead some scholars argue that the EU is a normative power because it binds itself to cosmopolitan law (Diez and Sjursen quoted in Whitman, 2013, p. 176) and thus represents a unique and novel type of global actor which has the potential to be seen as a model worth emulating or seeking membership of by others. Lucarelli and Manners conclude that the discourse around Normative Power Europe

> provides the most important input for the construction of a European identity, as it ascribes to the EU a specific role based on its representation and promotion of 'the prime value of peace' and 'the core values of human dignity/rights, freedom/liberty, democracy, equality, justice/rule of law, and solidarity (quoted in Kaina *et al.*, 2015, p. 59).

However, the uniqueness of these so-called 'European values' and the EU's normative role in constructing a distinctive external identity as a security provider remains contested and many argue that while the above-mentioned values have been internalised by the EU, they are universal rather than distinctly European (Lucarelli and Manners, 2006, p. 202).

Some realist scholars have concluded that the acquisition of defence capabilities was the first step towards an international identity defined by the EU's or its Member States' self-interests rather than the spreading of universal norms (Hyde-Price, 2006, Noutcheva, 2009). Indeed, a reduced emphasis on the EU's normative role is evident in one of the latest strategic documents, the EUGS. As Grevi points out, the new Global Strategy is more pragmatic and interest-driven (2016, p. 3). Former High Representative Solana argued that due to the EU being built around non-coercive, humanitarian and legalistic values, the acquisition of military capabilities was not pursued "for our own sake, but in support of the values and principles for which the EU is respected world-wide" (2000). Manners added that the nature of European integration and a more critical European public would result in a "tendency to remain within peaceful, non-coercive confines" (2006, p. 407). The ratio between civilian and military CSDP operations to date seems to underline this trend. However, it also seems the EU has somewhat belatedly realised that its model may be less appealing to the rest of the world than previously thought (Tocci, 2016), thus emphasising the importance of external perceptions regarding the idea of the EU being an exporter of norms. Indeed, Chaban and Holland point out that "changing international perceptions can have a pervasive and contagious effect across the full spectrum of EU external activities and policies" (2014, p. 250) and therefore play a significant role in shaping EU narratives.

However, when trying to draw conclusions about the EU's behaviour as an international actor, it is important to move beyond the realist-constructivist dichotomy that seems to dominate IR (Noutcheva *et al*., 2013, p. 9). Especially when considering the missions that could have taken place but have not, such as the EU's inaction in the 2011 Libya crisis (EUFOR Libya was never launched), it becomes clear that CSDP implementation is based on a complex interplay, or even struggle, between the EU's emerging international identity based on normative values and Member States' own interests. Here, it is once more crucial to acknowledge that the EU is still in the process of developing a clear international identity: while the EU is much more than a mere alliance that serves a specific purpose such as NATO, it is also far from constituting a traditional nation-state. Consequently, despite the CSDP being embedded in a framework of universal values and norms endorsed by all EU members, national interests largely remain the key driver for engagement in the CSDP for the time being (Tocci, 2016, p. 92; Gariup, 2009, pp. 100-1). While 'normative power Europe' is an independent concept that serves as a bridge between civilian and military power, it is important to acknowledge that a combination of all three determine the implementation of the CSDP. Rather than interpreting the EU's behaviour as a civilian, hard or normative power, McDonagh thus concludes that three distinct external identity narratives have emerged which define the EU as a "provider of peace" internally and in its neighbourhood, as a "risk manager" that prevents external security threats from materialising and as a "military power" protecting its interests (2014, p. 7). Such a multidimensional model of the EU's identity is useful in as far as it acknowledges the various drivers behind the EU's behaviour and also seems to reflect recent strategic developments. Whether it is perceived as either of these is explored in the next chapters.

Furthermore, any European identity narratives projected by the EU have to compete with the often long-established ones of nation-states. Not having any supranational decision-making structures means that most staff working to implement the CSDP do this as nationals of their countries, not EU employees. Furthermore, despite having increased its presence abroad through EU Delegations, CSDP missions and so forth, research has shown that the EU's efforts to present itself as a 'force for good' are not necessarily validated by external perceptions (Chaban and Holland, 2008), thus adding another obstacle to overcome in its quest to become a convincing global actor. This discrepancy between how the EU wants to be seen abroad and how it is actually perceived highlights the importance of security practitioners. As Benson-Rea states, "the coherence of the EU as an international actor […] is in many respects embodied in its employees" (2012, p. 483). Many individuals involved in implementing the CSDP thus find themselves in a challenging position where they inadvertently represent the EU's external identity through their work, while at the same time being employed to secure the interests of individual Member States. They not only have to bridge the different institutional contexts, i.e. the "domestically generated drive for national independence" and […] the explicit political commitments made by EU members to speak and act in unison in international affairs (Aggestam and Hyde-Price, 2000, p. 95), but they are also tasked with being the faces of EU foreign policy abroad and thus have the power to generate external legitimacy (Benson-Rea and Shore, 2012, p. 481).

European Integration Identity

There is no doubt that these differentiations between weak and strong identities (Kantner), cultural and civic components (Bruter), the concept of a European esprit de corps and

indeed the EU's international identity are very useful for analysing identification amongst those involved in implementing the CSDP. However, as this thesis investigates if a sense of European identity is emerging amongst practitioners working on European integration, a more specific definition of the concept of European identity is needed. Such a specific approach is supported by Kantner, who suggests that analysing the processes of political identity formation should be carried out policy-issue by policy-issue rather than by drawing conclusions in an undifferentiated manner about a group's "collective identity" (2006, p. 12).

Therefore, this study seeks to establish whether CSDP practitioners develop a sense of 'European integration identity'. This term is defined in this study as individuals' recognition not only of being part of an EU we$_2$ commercium, a community that facilitates the pursuit of individual nation's desires and purposes but accompanied by a sense of belonging to a group of citizens who share values and a vision of the future and believe that the EU is the best tool for achieving the group's goals. This definition is very closely related to Juncos and Pomorska's understanding of *esprit de corps* which they define as "the emergence of shared beliefs and values among the individuals within a group and a desire among those individuals (in this case, EEAS officials) to achieve a common goal" (2014, p. 305). However, this study suggests that the use of the term European integration identity is more appropriate in this context as it not only focuses on individuals' developing support for the EU as an institution but presupposes that a sense of 'we-ness' may emerge amongst practitioners which goes beyond the institutional level and could be based on cultural as well as civic identity components.

The study explores whether such an identity exists or develops through working on CSDP implementation. Furthermore, it examines whether there are certain processes, mainly strategic narratives, which are capable of contributing to the emergence of a 'European integration identity'. Mann agreed with other scholars such as Anderson and Gellner when he pointed out that education and language play a pivotal role in developing individuals' consciousness, awareness and sense of identity (1992). By offering CSDP training at EU level, the ESDC brings together all strands of European identity: the EU's official identity discourse is directly narrated to CSDP practitioners, who at the same time participate in networking, collaborate in crisis situations and experience the cultural aspects of 'Europeanness' through the residential nature of courses. This makes ESDC-coordinated training courses an excellent setting for investigating the formation of a European integration identity.

Previous Studies on Identity Formation amongst EU Workers

As this thesis is concerned with the impact that working for EU institutions has on people's understandings of and identifications with the EU, it seeks to investigate whether those who work for the EU are more likely or quicker to develop a sense of European identity. It makes a new contribution to research on European identity because it focuses on a specific group of practitioners, those involved in security and defence, a field that has always been closely linked to notions of national identity.

Previous research underlines the rationalist-constructivist dichotomy that divides opinions regarding European integration on the whole, but also the extent to which identity modification occurs amongst staff working for EU institutions. After examining attitudes

amongst EU permanent representatives, Lewis points out that while secondary allegiances to the EU seem to develop, they do not equate to a transfer of loyalties or the emergence of a 'European' identity (2000, p. 274, also see Fehige and Wessels, 1998). Many however oppose this view and conclude that a change in identification does occur. For example, in 2004 Meyer carried out interviews with a number of Political and Security Committee (PSC) ambassadors and high-ranking civil servants who indicated that an *esprit de corps* had been established, giving the committee a sense of identity and a shared understanding of CSDP matters (2005, p. 537, for further studies, see also Laffan, 1998, Trondal, 2002). However, at the same time, many stress that any shift in allegiance is in addition to, rather than in place of, existing loyalties (Beyers in Goldmann and Gilland, Schaefer *et al*., 2001). While some studies seem to focus on personal collaboration with fellow Europeans as well as prolonged service as being key aspects in generating an allegiance to the EU (Hooghe, 1999, Egeberg, 1999), there are other factors that influence the emergence of support amongst EU employees. Trondal argues that the intensity of collaboration is a key determinant for allegiance to the EU (2002, p. 481-2, see also Meyer, 2005, p. 535). The extent to which this is the case will be tested in the context of CSDP implementation, which, especially when conducting missions and operations, may constitute high pressure working environments requiring significant levels of collaboration.

Many integration theorists conclude that it is through spill over and socialisation in the form of personal contact and frequent collaboration that EU employees eventually undergo a "permanent shift of attitude or 'cognitive change'" (Haas, 1968; O'Neil, 1996, McDonald 1998; Niemann 1998; Lewis 2000; all quoted in Trondal 2002). Furthermore, Meyer specifically refers to the power of supranational organisations to shape the norms held by national officials "through processes of social influence" (2005, p.534), which include both

normative and informational influence. He argues that CSDP structures not only have the ability to shape practitioners' feelings and behaviour but also influence their strategic culture (*ibid*). While there has been some research into the effects of 'Europeanisation' of Member States in relation to foreign policy (Risse, *et al.,* 2011, p. 20), these studies have largely focused on the bigger picture, i.e. the extent to which national policy-making is affected. Empirical research into the socialisation and Europeanisation of individuals working on European foreign policy has been scarce, especially after 2005. Subsequent chapters therefore examine these processes at the individual level in order to establish whether such a shift in attitude does indeed take place amongst EU security practitioners.

European Identity amongst CSDP Practitioners

This study adds an interesting aspect to research on identity amongst EU staff not only because security and defence has always been closely linked to notions of identity, but also because it examines a large cross-section of people: civilian as well as military staff, from junior to senior level, and all EU nationalities at a crucial time (the launch of the EUGS).

Furthermore, many previous studies focused on elites such as senior officials and diplomats (e.g. Laffan, 2004, Lepsius, 2004, Siapera, 2004, Wodak, 2004, quoted in Kantner, 2006). Europeans working on CSDP implementation present a slightly different scenario: many of them would not be considered elites, as they do not represent leaders of groups involved in public decision-making (Haas, 1968, p. 115) and their involvement in EU policy implementation may often only be temporary. In addition, the CSDP is based on intergovernmental rather than supranational cooperation. Some might argue that this very fact hinders the development of loyalty transfer (Kassim *et al*., 2000; Moravcsik, 1998), and

draw attention to the argument that national employees working for EU institutions cannot be expected to shift their loyalties significantly as they continue to represent their national agencies (Egeberg, 1999). While there is certainly weight behind this argument, it is also evident that the EU is making a concerted effort to create a European identity amongst CSDP staff by projecting certain narratives to military and civilian CSDP staff through an increasingly integrated training experience. This is achieved through the continuous expansion of CSDP training modules and introducing new initiatives such as a staff mobility scheme especially aimed at young officers similar to ERASMUS and a CSDP Olympiad, which is a CSDP-themed competition for officers in training. Extensive research on transnational communication (Deutsch 1953; Deutsch *et al*., 1957; Lijphart, 1964; Fligstein 2008 quoted in Kaina *et al*., 2015) as well as on the impact of exchanges and mobility schemes has attested that such an approach does indeed contribute to the formation of a European identity amongst participants from the bottom-up (Wallace, 1990, Green, 2007, Fligstein, 2008, 2009, Favell, 2009 quoted in Udrea).

Another concept which may be relevant to this research and which hasn't been discussed sufficiently in previous studies is the role that confrontation with the 'other' plays in identity formation. Security and defence matters evolve around dealing with external parties which inevitably leads to differentiating between 'us' needing protection from 'them' and national security practitioners becoming EU representatives as a result. Many scholars argue that this process is a key tool to create a sense of group identity. While for many Europeans the "in-group/out-group antagonism is a latent phenomenon" (Kaina and Karolewski, 2013, p. 23), it seems likely to be triggered amongst those deployed on a CSDP mission abroad or even those working in an environment where 'the other' is the focus of their work. In the case of European staff working on CSDP implementation, this might occur on a number of

different levels. On the one hand, being part of a European minority abroad might highlight similarities by juxtaposing them with 'the exotic other' (Said, 1978), thus creating a sense of European community. However, 'othering' could also occur internally, where a lack of cross-cultural competency results in the formation/continuation of national divisions. The degree to which 'othering' is perceived to occur and whether it activates a recognition of the EU's universal values as European amongst CSDP staff is investigated in this study.

Conclusion to Chapter 3

This chapter considered a number of different concepts that are closely linked to notions of European identity, such as national identity, constitutional patriotism and the EU's international identity. Furthermore, it examined a number of different theories regarding the components that contribute to an individual's European identity and considered different levels of identification with Europe. These theoretical explorations emphasised the need for developing a precise definition of European integration identity which is to be explored in this thesis and highlighted a gap in European identity theory – a lack of focus on identity formation. The thesis assesses notions of European identity amongst practitioners and focuses on identity-shaping processes by using the concept of strategic narratives, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: Assessing the Construction of a European Integration Identity: Employing the Concept of 'Strategic Narratives'

As discussed in the last chapter, identity is a concept that is not only difficult to define, but it is also very challenging to measure. How are individuals' identities formed, maintained or indeed changed?

To tackle these questions, the previous chapter outlined how European identity in particular is understood and interpreted in this study and how it is linked with other types of identities. It is now crucial to discuss the theoretical concepts employed in this thesis to make sense of the identity-shaping processes that take place amongst CSDP practitioners, in particular during CSDP training courses.

This study employs the concept of strategic narratives developed by Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin in 2014 after Freedman had introduced the term "strategic narrative" to the study of International Relations in 2006, defining it as a deliberate construction providing a "compelling story line which can explain events convincingly and from which inferences can be drawn" (p. 22). It is argued that such attempts to structure responses take place by expressing a "sense of identity and belonging and communicat[ing] a sense of cause, purpose and mission (Ronfeldt and Arquilla, quoted in Freedman, 2006, p. 22/23).

Employing Kantner's model of weak and strong European identities (2005), this study seeks to assess whether strategic narratives shape notions of European identity amongst civilian and military staff involved in CSDP implementation. It considers the EU's role in European identity formation by examining mechanisms geared towards creating greater 'political

regime support' (Easton, 1965) as well as initiating a sense of "shared ethical self-understanding" (Kantner, 2006, p. 509) amongst military and civilian staff.

Using the Concept of Strategic Narratives to Explore the Internal Communication of the EU's CSDP

The concept of strategic narratives in International Relations is usually applied to external projections of identity between state actors and Roselle *et al*., developed the concept defining it as "soft power in the 21st century" (2014, p. 71). Furthermore, they applied it to an ever-changing "media ecology" (*ibid*) – media landscapes in which actors with varying degrees of power over the information transmitted (Miskimmon *et al*., 2017, p. 30) try to influence "whose story wins" (Nye quoted in Roselle *et al*., 2014, p. 71). This study makes a novel contribution to the literature on strategic narratives by firstly employing it to analyse the shaping of identity in a European foreign policy context, and perhaps more importantly, by utilising it to assess the internal communication of narratives within the EU. As the EU is a complex actor defined by intergovernmental decision-making between 28 states, it constitutes a rather unique foreign policy actor. Its convoluted structure poses a significant challenge to creating and projecting a consolidated identity externally. Furthermore, it faces another challenge: to act with one voice it needs to create and maintain internal cohesion between the Member States.

Garton-Ash's remark highlights the importance of analysing the EU's internal projection of narratives: "Europe no longer knows what story it wants to tell. A shared political narrative sustained the post-war project of (west) European integration for three generations, but it has fallen apart since the end of the Cold War. Most Europeans now have little idea where

we're coming from; far less do we share a vision of where we want to go to. We don't know why we have an EU or what it's good for. So, we urgently need a new narrative." (2007). This remark does not refer specifically to the EU's foreign policy; however, it is also very relevant in such a foreign policy context, which has traditionally been dealt with at the national level and continues to struggle with legitimacy issues. Furthermore, it highlights the connection between a shared sense of identity and successful policy-making. It also supports the argument that the EU has the ability to affect individuals' "preferences and very identity" (Haas, 1968, p. 7, 18-19 and Knill and Lenschow, 2001, p. 194) and highlights the importance of strong narratives.

Of course, it can be argued that using strategic narratives to investigate notions of an emergent European identity is problematic, mainly because the EU is not like a state actor but instead relies on intergovernmental decision-making. This inevitably means that forming and projecting coherent narratives internally (and externally) is a very complex undertaking as nation-states remain the key agents and main transmitters of narratives. Miskimmon *et al*. acknowledge that "the hybrid nature of the European Union […] complicates who narrates policy within the organization" (2017, p. 96). Furthermore, the reception and acceptance of EU strategic narratives is "complicated by an opaque institutional structure and organization that even EU citizens, much less non- Europeans, fail to grasp (Tonra quoted in Miskimmon *et al*., 2017, p. 93). Subsequently, there is also no doubt that any EU narratives either must compete with or at least resonate with national ones in order to be accepted by Europeans. However, this is also a very good reason to employ this framework. While it is important to examine the EU's efforts to shape notions of a European identity, it is also crucial to investigate how individuals respond to these efforts and how they themselves contribute to this process in return. Due to its cyclic nature (formation –

projection – reception), the concept of strategic narratives is especially useful as it highlights the multifaceted interplay between the different actors involved: it enables the analysis of the formation and projection of narratives by the EU, but also focuses on how individuals receive and shape them in return. As Nye points out "what the target thinks is particularly important, and the targets matter as much as the agents" (Nye Jr, 2011, p. 84).

Investigating narratives in the European foreign policy field can easily be a vast undertaking due to the many different actors involved and the large and complex 'media ecology' that narratives are transmitted in across Europe and the different Member States. By choosing a different, more specific sphere (CSDP training courses), the subject becomes more assessable within the constraints of a thesis and also hones in on its target audience – those implementing the EU's foreign policy – and the link between identity and integration.

Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin suggest that three different levels of narratives are created and projected by actors and then received by target audiences. A distinction is made between international system, identity and policy or issue narratives which collectively construct a notion of European identity. This concept is especially useful in the context of identity and the EU's CSDP as it attempts to explain the constantly evolving nature of both. As Todorov points out, narratives provide a "framework that allow[s] humans to connect apparently unconnected phenomena around some causal transformation" (1977, p. 45). More specifically, narratives connect elite discourses with a more widespread understanding of issues, interests and values, and contribute to a process of 'sense-making' which helps to circulate information among wider publics as well as narrow elites. In addition, they have the potential to establish and reinforce a sense of belonging amongst certain groups as well as create common values and norms (Ronfeld and

Arquilla, 2001). On the one hand, notions of identity discussed above are rooted in the understanding that it is socially constructed, both top-down and bottom-up, and undergoes continuous shaping and maintaining (e.g. Katzenstein, 1996). On the other hand, CSDP is a policy area that is still being developed and will continue to change due to the complex and ever-changing nature of the security environment. Furthermore, its successful implementation is heavily reliant on public support (Martin, 2007, p. 9- 10) and thus requires careful communication. By analysing both notions in relation to each other, the degree of their interconnectedness will be investigated. Narratives are an excellent means to make sense of these processes in relation to one's environment as they assume that meaning is created through a dialogic process that thus moves beyond communicating static facts.

Strategic Narratives of European Identity

While there are many options for theorising the large number of identity-shaping processes and ways in which individuals' opinions are shaped, this study employs the concept of strategic narratives in order to evaluate if and how the EU is able to communicate a European identity to its employees. As Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin point out, strategic narratives represent a way of creating a "shared meaning of the past, present, and future of international politics" (2014, p. 2) and thus play an essential role in legitimising all human societies (Hurrell, 2007, p. 17). They have the potential not only to influence people's interests, but also their identity (*ibid*.). In other words, the narratives are future-oriented as they tell a story about an initial situation which is disrupted by a problem and subsequently offer a resolution to this problem. Strategic narratives thus not only bind

together a range of diverse individuals in terms of ideology and strategy (Freedman, 2006), they also serve to project the values and interests of actors in the international system (Manners, 2002, Antoniades, *et al.,* 2010).

Employing the concept of strategic narratives to evaluate notions of European identity requires a holistic assessment of the processes involved as narratives are "dynamic products whose meaning changes as they move from tellers to listeners and back again. They create the world as much as they reflect it" (Zalman, 2011, online blog).

In order to better understand their complexity, Roselle *et al*. differentiate between three different, yet mutually constitutive processes – strategic narrative formation, projection and reception. This distinction helps to highlight and understand the complexity of who's shaping narratives and to what purpose, how and by whom they are communicated as well as how they are received by their target audiences. The formation of narratives occurs to facilitate the interpretation of events according to the agents' worldview. O'Loughlin *et al*. argue that "actors and interactions of IR are deeply embedded within and structured by discourse" and that narratives are created using this discursive material (2017, p39). In the case of the EU, the formation of security-related narratives is particularly interesting because as well as being crafted from official discourse by the EU, they need to resonate with the many national discourses on security and defence. As this study uses the EU's two security strategies and examines the work of the ESDC as tools for communicating strategic narratives, it is crucial to look closely at who is involved in drafting the content of the documents and training courses and the processes through which they are produced.

The second component of the communication cycle is the projection of narratives. Roselle *et al*. describe this as verbal and non-verbal communication (2014, p. 75) which aims to

allocate meaning and purpose to the EU as a key actor in the international system. With regards to this thesis this means it is not only important to assess the content of the two security strategies and the CSDP training courses, but it is also vital to take into consideration how they are projected non-verbally. How are security practitioners confronted with the EU's security strategy and what is the impact of residential training courses hosted by the different Member State institutions?

While an examination of the projection of narratives might reveal a clear intent, their success is determined by how they are received by their target audience. Indeed, it is at this point that "meaning is made and any attractiveness, engagement and scope for persuasion are located and experienced" (Skuse *et al*., 2011). It is here that EU strategic narratives come up against existing (national) ones and are interpreted according to individual identifications and belief systems. Furthermore, the reception of narratives forms the last part of the communication cycle and the extent to which they are accepted and how they are interpreted impacts on the (re-)formation of the EU's strategic narratives. It is arguably also the most complex stage of the process as so many different factors influence how individuals receive certain narratives. While narratives are often filtered through national lenses, regional ones as well as personal experiences and attitudes (of Europe and the EU) also influence the way in which EU narratives are perceived by individual security practitioners. CSDP training courses provide an interesting platform for analysing the reception of narratives as communicators and receivers meet and interact with one another, thus representing an excellent example of the interconnectedness of all three components of the narrative communication cycle.

While all three are discussed as part of this thesis, the main focus is on the projection and reception of strategic narratives concerning the EU's security and defence policy. Furthermore, this study aims to contribute to the discussion of the concept of strategic narratives by focusing on individuals' engagement in this process, assessing the extent to which their opinions and attitudes towards CSDP are shaped and how this might affect the implementation of the CSDP in return.

When discussing strategic narratives, Roselle *et al*. distinguish between three different levels of narratives, all of which interlink and contribute to constructing an actor's identity and creating an 'imagined community'. These are context-specific narratives which are developed and reshaped continually.

System narratives function at the macro level and serve to make sense of the world we live in and the system we envision to operate in. At the meso level, national (in the case of nation-states) identity narratives set out to explain what kind of actor a nation (or any other institution) is, how it interprets its past and envisions its future. Issue narratives work at the micro level by explaining the purpose and necessity of policies, thus providing solutions to common problems. All three narrative levels are discussed in the context of CSDP in more detail below.

Applying the Concept of Strategic Narratives to CSDP Training

Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin developed the concept of strategic narratives to assess narratives communicated through new media. However, it is used in this mixed methods study as a framework for assessing how the EU communicates international system narratives, identity narratives and policy narratives through the coordination of

standardised training for CSDP practitioners. Empirical research will include content analyses of two key policy documents, the European Security Strategy (ESS) and the recent Global Strategy for the EU (EUGS), interviews with elites involved in providing CSDP training, surveys with participants prior to training and interviews with trainees during/after residential training courses as well as observations from the training courses. The strategic narrative framework is operationalised in the same way across all the different research methods in order to achieve holistic and consistent findings. This is achieved through investigating the same theoretical constructs throughout the research process.

Roselle *et al*.'s strategic narrative concept focuses on novel communication channels created by new media technologies which have the potential to provide platforms for altering power relationships (2014). Voices that previously went unheard and people who were previously unable to meet can now make use of these new tools to engage in narrative communication. The focus of this study is slightly different in that it adapts the concept of strategic narratives to CSDP training. While the EU has arguably little control over how its strategic narratives are filtered, mainly through national mass media channels, there is no doubt that through the creation of standardised training courses, the EU has also created a new platform for directly communicating its strategic narratives as well as enabling informal networking through exchanges and residential courses amongst CSDP practitioners.

International System Narratives – New Security Threats and Security Priorities

System narratives attempt to make sense of the world we live in and set out "what kind of order we want" (Miskimmon *et al*., 2011, p. 3). In the context of EU security and defence,

this is of particular interest as the EU is continually in the process of shaping its role as an international actor in a complex setting that combines supranational and intergovernmental decision-making. It is therefore crucial for the EU to outline its vision of the international system and to generate a common understanding of security and defence in Europe resulting in shared threat perceptions.

The EU has released two key documents that try to establish such a narrative concerning the international system – the ESS in 2003 and the EUGS drafted in 2016. The Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy does not form part of this analysis for two reasons. While it would allow a more detailed tracing of the development of narratives over time, it has not been included due to constraints on the length of this thesis. Furthermore, the report does not form a key part of the training materials used during ESDC-run CSDP courses, making it less relevant for the analysis of narrative reception by training participants. The analysis of the two strategies forms a key part of this thesis and investigates how ideas of a multipolar and multilateral security environment, transatlanticism as well as the changing definition of security are projected and received. Special focus is therefore on the EU's place in the international system, its vision of collaboration with other actors, and its overall role as a security provider. This means attention is given to what kind of narratives regarding world order are being communicated by the EU, but also what system narratives exist amongst study participants prior to CSDP training. As a result, the data collected may reveal whether clashes between differing system narratives occur amongst CSDP practitioners and more specifically during CSDP training courses.

(National) Identity Narratives - EU vs. National Identity

National narratives are biographical identity narratives that put a state's or organisation's existence into context. By anchoring narratives in a common past, they purport seemingly naturally evolved values which are "intertwined with an envisioned space "(Roselle *et al*., 2014, p. 76), thus providing recipients with common goals.

In terms of identity narratives, this thesis explores the following ideas: is there a coherent European identity that is being communicated either by the EU itself or by the individual Member States? How is such a European identity defined? The extent to which distinctions are made between Bruter's notions of civic and cultural pillars of European identity are investigated as well as Kantner's differentiation between weak and strong European identity. A large number of scholars argue that national identities and European identity are not mutually exclusive, but do in fact correlate, meaning that those who have a strong sense of national identity are more likely to have a European identity (Mummendey and Waldzus, 2004, Breakwell, 2004, Duchesne and Frognier, 1995, Risse, Bruter 2009).

Yet, as discussed above and indicated by many Europe-wide surveys, national identity narratives remain one of the most successful tools to cohere large groups of people and thus still provide the primary point of identification for the majority of Europeans. Due to their emphasis on delineating the nation from 'the other', national identity narratives are the most likely to clash with European identity narratives which attempt to unite the national with 'the other'. The situational aspect is especially relevant as most CSDP practitioners work to implement the EU's security and defence policies on an intergovernmental basis, by representing their national governments, suggesting that their primary identification and allegiance may remain with their country. The aim here is not to

argue that European and national identity narratives are incompatible. Indeed, the view that identity is made up of various layers which can include identifying with one's nation and Europe, seems robust. However, this thesis seeks to explore Barth's argument that notions of identity are also very situation-specific (1969). While seemingly opposing narratives might be accepted by audiences as feasible, they may not elicit a complete change in behaviour/identification, but rather be employed only in certain circumstances. This begs the question as to whether CSDP practitioners develop a European identity in relation to their work on the CSDP that doesn't permeate into other aspects of their live or if the opposite is the case and they have a European identity which does not affect their work as security practitioners.

As well as potential clashes between European and national identity narratives, a number of other concepts need to be considered when investigating European identity narratives. The EU's identity is closely tied to the EU Treaty documents, which claim that universal values such as peace, democracy, human rights, freedom of speech, etc., are 'inherently European' and thus unite all European citizens and provide a basis for creating a vision for a common European future. This idea of connecting Europe's past to common goals is further illustrated by the notion of an 'ever closer union' as the best way of ensuring the prosperity of European citizens and being the most feasible approach to tackling global security threats. With regards to security and defence, this idea of integrating more and more policy areas is deeply rooted in recent European history as a shared European Defence Community had been envisioned as early as 1950.

Policy-Specific Narratives

At the micro-level, Roselle *et al*. define issue narratives as providing context to actions taken by governments, and an attempt to convince audiences of the necessity to implement certain policies (2014, p. 76). Furthermore, issue narratives serve to "set out why a policy is needed (and normatively desirable) and how it will be successfully implemented" (*ibid*). This study thus focuses on narratives concerning the CSDP; such as the EU's pursuit of a 'comprehensive approach', which entails a blurring of the military-civilian dichotomy and the creation of a 'European security culture'.

The Importance of Socialisation

It is crucial to look beyond the content of narratives and consider the impact of the environment in which they are projected on how they are received. Indeed, it is worth deliberating a statement by Michalski *et al*. remarking that "politics can create only the basic conditions for European unification" (2006, p. 98). This is further underlined by Cerutti who points out that it is "the attitude of the people (…) that determines if and which "idea of Europe'" will succeed (2008, p. 5). While a vision of European security and defence can easily be communicated through CSDP training, it is what the individuals make of it that determines whether a common security culture emerges and notions of a shared European identity develop. Training courses coordinated by the ESDC are of a residential nature and devised to provide networking opportunities in addition to formal learning, thus encouraging individuals to interact transnationally and across the civilian-military divide. In line with findings from previous studies (mentioned above), Meyer argues that such interaction at EU level leads to socialisation processes (2005, p. 536), which shape the

identities and interests of actors (Checkel, 1999) through internalising norms and values and henceforth utilising them to "evaluate the appropriateness of an action" (March and Olsen, quoted in Cerutti and Lucarelli,2008, p. 27). This constructivist interpretation is frequently challenged by realist and neo-functionalist thinkers who argue that actors have fixed preferences and perceptions and thus only adapt their behaviour if they think it will help achieve their goals. Accordingly, any change in identification or loyalty is strategic rather than linked to a change of interests (Checkel, 2001, p. 561). Consequently, allegiance is governed by cost-benefit calculations and the potential of anything apart from strategic identification with the EU is dismissed as a result.

Checkel's approach to bridging the gap between the two opposing schools is particularly useful in this context. He points out that a lot of "everyday interaction is about strategic exchange and self-interested behaviour" (1999, p. 546), both at organisational and individual level. Yet, to deny the impact of social learning on identity formation would be short-sighted, especially since research has provided extensive evidence that "discussion and persuasion within small groups consistently promote feelings of group identity" (Checkel, 2001, p. 563).

This study assesses whether military and civilian staff display a mindset focused on cost-benefit calculations determined by national interests or if a notion of a sense of community that goes beyond national borders is apparent and affecting the way in which individuals view security and defence.

Conclusion to Chapter 4

Reviewing existing literature on European identity has highlighted the complex nature of the concept and its many different interpretations and definitions. The extent to which a European identity is emerging and whether it is useful/required for the successful integration of security and defence is a highly debated topic which has gained new momentum with recent developments such as the Eurozone crisis, Brexit and the refugee crisis. Focussing specifically on security practitioners provides a case study of individuals at the juncture between representing their country's security policies and working on the implementation of a wider EU security and defence strategy. Some believe the latest rise in anti-EU sentiments in many EU Member States may mark the beginning of the end of the European integration project, or at least of further integration (see Serricchio *et al*. 2013; Armingeon and Ceka 2014; Hobolt 2015). This makes an assessment of individuals' opinions

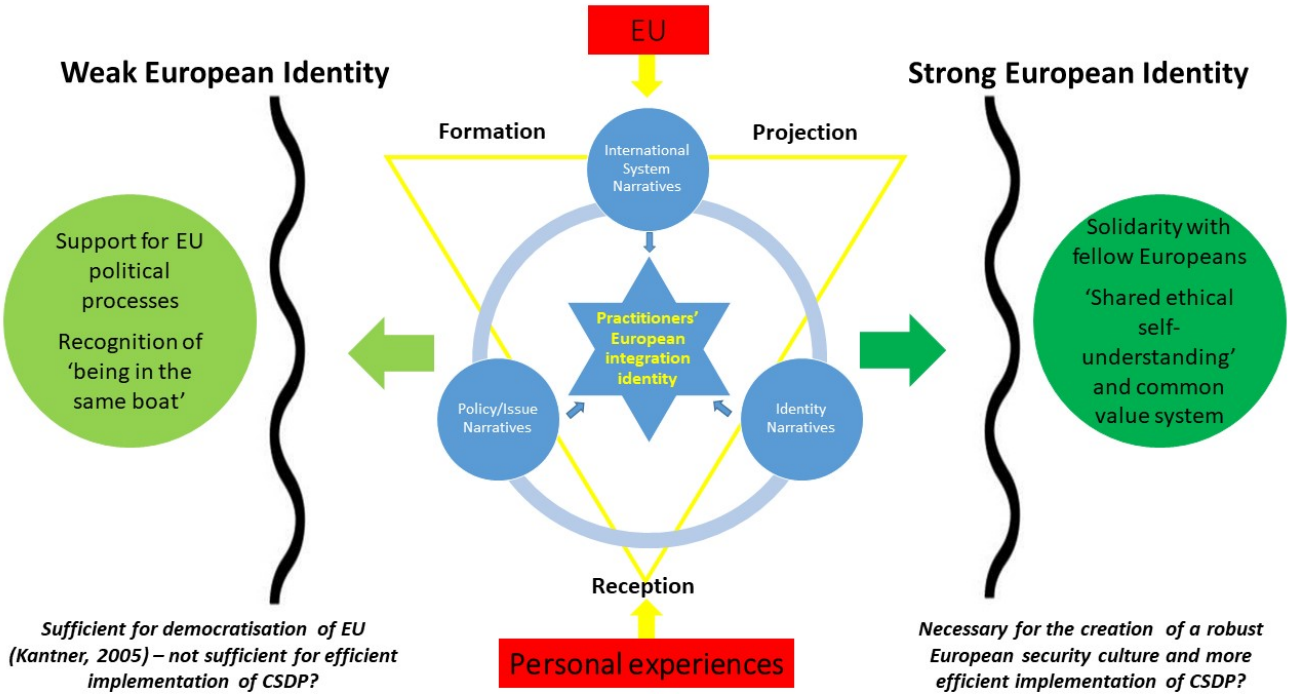

FIGURE 2 - FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IDENTITY

Source: Researcher's own

and views on the EU even more valuable as it contributes towards developing a prognosis for the future of security and defence in the EU.

While no one theoretical concept can perfectly capture and explain the complex nature and construction of identity, this chapter has outlined how the concept of strategic narratives is a suitable vehicle for analysing the EU's efforts at creating a sense of European identity amongst CSDP practitioners. *Figure 2* above tries to capture these different concepts and processes. By focusing on the interplay between the projection and reception of strategic narratives, one acknowledges that the formation of identity is not merely a top-down phenomenon, but that individuals play a part in shaping identity through bottom-up processes, thus creating an ever-evolving loop between the formation, projection and reception of narratives and identities. Strategic narratives also reflect the fluidity of the concept of identity and the interconnectedness between different elements and layers which make up a person's understanding of the world and their identification within it. This is achieved through the three levels of strategic narratives, providing an overall view of the world, a sense of identity and an understanding of how to best solve specific problems within this system. While it is important to note that all levels feed into each other and at times overlap, thus underlining its holistic approach, this thesis seeks to add another dimension to the strategic narrative framework by considering the specific role of standardised CSDP training courses as a platform for the communication of such narratives and subsequent construction of notions of European identity. The next chapter delineates the research design of this study and discusses the methods used for the collection of empirical data.

CHAPTER 5: Methodology and Methods

Methodological Approach: Mixed Method Approach

The previous chapter outlined the theoretical approach which informs this thesis and assumes that notions of European identity are shaped using strategic narratives. This thesis is thus based on a constructivist outlook which presupposes that knowledge is constructed and "social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors" (Bryman, 2003, p. 23). This view suggests that knowledge is not neutral, but always shaped by people and their interests. Furthermore, it implies that it is impossible for research to 'discover the truth'. The focus on the individual who constructs meaning through social experiences and interactions suggests putting emphasis on a qualitative approach to data collection which hones in on individual attitudes and perceptions. Hence, a mixed methods approach was chosen for this study as combining qualitative and quantitative aspects delivers greater "breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (Creswell, *et al*., 2011, p. 123). Relying solely on qualitative methods would severely restrict the validity and comparability of data. Creswell further remarks that focusing on a small number of individuals in a qualitative manner results in a loss of generalisability, whereas examining a larger amount of people in a quantitative way on the other hand leads to a decreased understanding of the individual (2011, p. 8). As acknowledged above, no one research method is able to deliver perfect results or come close to 'the truth'. By triangulating findings from both quantitative and qualitative research methods, a greater insight into the subject matter will be achieved that would not be obtainable through either method separately. As Tashakkori and Teddlie point out, this also "facilitates the complementarity and interpretation of data" (1998, p. ix). This is especially

important due to the way in which the theoretical framework is applied in this study – through looking at the same theoretical concepts across a number of different sources. Moreover, this strategy seeks to reduce the impact of bias on the part of the researcher. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how notions of identity are constructed and interpreted amongst individuals, this study employs a somewhat sequential research design which is explained in detail in *Table 2* below.

TABLE 2 – RESEARCH METHODS Source: Researcher's own

STRATEGY	AIM	SAMPLE	TYPE OF QUESTIONS
1 a) Content Analysis	Provide a first insight into narrative projection by the EU and the training facilitators	European Security Strategy, Global Strategy for the EU on Security and Defence	Closed rating scale questions, and nominal data
1 b) Expert semi-structured interviews and observations	Provide another angle with regards to the projection of strategic narratives, supplement findings from content analysis	**8 experts** involved in the administration and delivery of ESDC training courses; Researcher's **observations at 6 CSDP-related training courses**	Semi-structured interview guide
2) Quantitative Online Survey	Develop a snapshot of notions of identity amongst CSDP staff prior to participation in CSDP-related training	**195 Civilian and military staff** of all levels of seniority participating in CSDP-related training courses coordinated by the ESDC	Structured questionnaires with mainly closed questions and rating scale
3) Qualitative semi-structured interviews	Obtain a detailed insight into notions of identity amongst CSDP staff and evaluate the reception of strategic narratives during training	**60 CSDP staff** participating in 6 different training courses	Semi-structured interview guide, open questions

Projection of Strategic Narratives

Research Strategy and Rationale

Primary data collection for this study consists of three components. In order to better understand which strategic narratives are communicated by the EU to CSDP practitioners, a content analysis of official strategy documents and training materials was carried out. These documents serve to guide decision-makers, but also provide crucial context for the practical implementation of security and defence policies by individuals at all levels. While such a content analysis draws out themes and concepts from key EU texts, it does not capture if and how these are discussed in practice. Findings from the content analysis are therefore supplemented by a small number of expert interviews with people who were directly involved in shaping discourse on EU security and defence policy during CSDP training courses as well as the researchers' observations from CSDP training courses.

Research Design - Content Analysis

Numerous studies have been undertaken to determine the extent to which socialisation takes place amongst people working for the EU in Brussels (i.e. Davis Cross, 2011 and Howorth, 2014). However, the implementation of the CSDP occurs on an intergovernmental basis which means the majority of military staff involved in this process only collaborate with each other virtually or on an ad-hoc basis. However, the EU has identified the delivery of multinational CSDP-related training as a way of creating a common security culture. As Member States retain sovereignty over the delivery of military training, its viability as a platform for EU top-down socialisation is limited. Yet, those involved in providing the CSDP-related training at a European level make use of a number of different tools to project their

vision for the EU onto European military personnel. One of these is through the use of official training documents and standardised curricula.

Content analysis was chosen because it is a method that best accommodates a detailed and systematic deconstruction of the chosen documents (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 1). Stemler further defines the method as "a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding" (Berelson, 1952; Gao, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990 quoted in Stemler, 2001, p. 1). Analysing the content of official ESDC materials will provide an insight into the EU's goals vis-à-vis European security and defence collaboration and, more broadly, the EU's own identity narrative. As content analysis focuses on the message itself rather than the communicator or the audience (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 9), it is a great tool for examining the projection of narratives. Honing in on this particular aspect of narrative communication will not only make it easier to juxtapose the projection and reception of narratives during the analysis, but also highlight the reciprocal relationship between the processes. Rather than making generalisations from these findings or drawing clear conclusions, the purpose of the content analysis is to provide a starting point for the comparison of narrative projection and reception.

One key aspect of conducting content analysis is to ensure consistency with regards to coding. While this method is used in a qualitative manner in this study, it is vital that coding is transparent and uniform (Weber, 1990, p. 12) in order to avoid projecting one's own views onto one's findings. This is a valid concern and certainly represents a weakness of qualitative methods of research. This study uses the triangulation of a number of different research methods. Its aim is to facilitate a more holistic analysis that allows the

corroboration of findings and somewhat compensates for the individual research methods' weaknesses.

Due to the scope of this thesis, only a relatively small number of documents formed part of this content analysis. At first, it was foreseen to analyse the CSDP Handbooks published by the ESDC. There are three different handbooks – one general handbook, one for decision-makers and one on missions and operations. These are provided (mostly electronically) to course participants as part of the training preparations and were thus considered a good source for analysing strategic narratives from the EU directly targeting CSDP practitioners. However, on closer examination, while small sections could have been used for content analysis, most of the handbooks' content was factual as it contained information such as the organisation and functioning of relevant EU institutions and an overview of CSDP. It was however almost completely void of any material containing direct messages from the EU or on strategic direction. It was thus deemed unsuitable for detailed content analysis. This decision was further supported when it became obvious during observations that the handbooks did not play a noteworthy role during ESDC-coordinated training, thus weakening their importance in terms of strategic communication. The other key document that had been envisaged to form part of the content analysis was the ESS and the subsequent report on its implementation. The ESS featured frequently during training. Furthermore, with the new EUGS having been published subsequently (after the fieldwork was carried out), being able to compare the two documents and the development of strategy over time more than compensates for the unsuitability of the handbooks. Not only was the new Global Strategy discussed during some of the training courses, it is also substantially more detailed than the ESS, as it takes a broader approach to security, thus providing more content for analysis.

Expert Interviews

An analysis of the projection of strategic narratives formed a vital part of this study and while the content analysis of the two strategic documents (ESS and EUGS) made up the main part of this process, findings were supplemented by a small number of expert interviews and the researchers' observations of the delivery of CSDP training courses.

In total, eight expert interviews were conducted. In this case, the term 'expert' is taken to mean the following: any person that makes a significant contribution to the production of CSDP course content or its delivery. The number of interviews carried out do not claim any representative value, but they do provide a limited insight into the opinions and views of those who are tasked with communicating knowledge about EU security and defence to security practitioners. While the scope of this thesis did not allow for a larger interview sample, it must be noted that these experts play a crucial role in the process of strategic communication. Key messages and information regarding CSDP are filtered down to practitioner level through their teaching, thus making them powerful projectors of the EU's strategic narratives.

In order to minimise any reluctance to voice opinions or views and to ensure responses are as open as possible during the interview process, the majority of these interviews were conducted anonymously. However, without violating any data protection or confidentiality, the expert sample can be described as follows: it is made up of current and former ESDC staff, as well as trainers from four European countries who are involved in the delivery of training courses coordinated by the College. These included high-ranking military staff, leading academics and EEAS staff. In addition to this, an interview was carried out with

Nathalie Tocci, Special Advisor to HR Mogherini who was a guest speaker at one of the courses and also one of the key individuals involved in drafting the 2016 Global Strategy.

All interviews were conducted during the research period between September and November 2015 after approval was obtained from the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee. A total of only eight interviews was possible as it proved somewhat difficult to arrange and fit in these interviews in addition to the training participant interviews, especially as the experts often did not attend the whole course. Yet, the quality of interviews provides a satisfactory flavour of opinions from these communicators of EU strategic narratives and when triangulated with the content analysis and the researcher's course observations constitutes a multifaceted analysis of the projection of narratives.

Course Observations

Course observations form another small part of the analysis of the EU's projection of strategic narratives. In total, six different CSDP-related training courses were observed between September and November 2015. It has to be said that the role of the researcher during observations can at times be difficult as it can be near impossible to avoid researcher bias and ensure neutrality. With this in mind, the observations should be interpreted with caution and for what they are – one training participant's experiences. It also has to be noted at this point that the researcher did not observe all parts of the training sessions. On a number of occasions, the training participants were split into groups to discuss certain security and defence-related scenarios and then present back to all participants while at other times they went on brief site visits. A few times course organisers encouraged some of

the interviews to be conducted during the training sessions. This meant that while the majority of sessions were observed, some had to be missed.

The courses that formed part of this study were selected in order to cover a wide spectrum of content and target audiences. They ranged from courses aimed at new civilian and military staff, military officer training modules and senior CSDP staff training. In order to get a better idea of the extent to which course content was standardised, three CSDP Orientation Courses were chosen (all of which were hosted by different Member States). Furthermore, the European Initiative for the Exchange of Military Young Officers (EMILYO) Common Modules for officers-in-training were delivered by one military academy whereas the High-Level Course was the second module in a series hosted by four different Member States. This enabled the researcher to draw some comparisons between the many different courses coordinated by the ESDC and to gain a better understanding of how the courses are facilitated in practice.

Reception of Strategic Narratives

Research Strategy

Communicating narratives is a two-way process. While it is crucial to investigate what and how strategic narratives are projected, it is just as important to examine how they are received by the target audience and what other processes might interfere with their adoption. An online survey with training participants prior to the course was carried out to capture existing views and attitudes amongst CSDP practitioners. This research method, while conducted on a relatively small scale with a sample of 195 respondents, forms the quantitative component of the study. By using mainly closed questions and scales, it allows

for direct comparisons of results. Furthermore, some of the questions (albeit slightly adapted) were taken from larger scale Europe-wide surveys such as Eurobarometer to allow situating the findings within a wider context.

The main qualitative aspect of this study is made up of 60 semi-structured interviews with CSDP training participants. Conducting in-depth interviews with approximately 1/3 of the training participants surveyed previously enabled the researcher to 'dig deeper' regarding certain issues and investigate if and how narratives are received by individuals. These interviews were carried out during or after the CSDP training courses. As the researcher was present throughout the duration of the residential courses, she was not only able to interview participants in the training environment but was also able to observe training participants during informal sections of the course, such as break times and lunches/dinners. While these observations do not represent a standalone research method, they provide a further insight into the role of informal interaction during the strategic narrative communication process. Surveying and interviewing the same group of people facilitated a more in-depth profiling of the participants and a more comprehensive analysis.

Research Design – Online Surveys

Using online surveys as a way of collecting empirical data is a popular research method and one that fits well with the overall survey design. As the purpose of the study is to investigate notions of identity amongst a specific group of professionals, using this method allows for a relatively large sample to be surveyed and their views and attitudes to be quantified. European identity is a very fluid concept that can be interpreted in many different ways. The online survey was selected to serve as a scoping tool for CSDP practitioners' perceptions of

European identity, especially in the context of security and defence and also to situate their opinions within those of the wider European public.

Conducting an online survey is not only the most economical research method; in terms of collecting and managing meaningful quantitative data, administering an online survey is also the most manageable form of data collection considering the scope and scale of this study. This research component aims to produce a dataset of 300 completed questionnaires which would represent approximately one quarter of training participants the ESDC reaches per year.

Furthermore, despite being a relatively new research method, online surveys have a number of distinct advantages over face-to-face, telephone or postal surveys (Scully quoted in Kaina *et al*., 2015). As Kaina *et al*. observe, being able to apply routing and filtering of questions to the questionnaire improves the respondent's survey experience immensely by reducing frustration and completion times and therefore resulting in better completion rates. Furthermore, errors that occur during the transcription process and inconsistencies on behalf of the interviewer are eliminated (*ibid*, p. 205). Moreover, not only is the confidentiality of respondents ensured through secure online procedures, by administering the survey this way, sampling is not limited by geographic or time constraints. By securing endorsement from the ESDC itself, credibility and response rates were maximised. A direct link to the survey was placed on the online ESDC training portal (IDL), as well as an email sent out by the ESDC to all newly-registered staff asking them to complete the survey.

In order to get a comprehensive insight into CSDP practitioners' identifications, it was important to capture participants' views and attitudes prior to the training. An online survey was used to obtain results that give an insight into the mind-set of young military officers.

The purpose of this research component was to inform and optimise interview questions, the main component of this study, but it also aimed to collect vital data that can situate the research within a wider academic field and enable comparisons with other studies on the military as well as notions of European identity. Furthermore, coherence across all research methods is paramount. This meant that the same theoretical framework that was applied to the content analysis was also employed for the development of survey questions.

The survey had a number of objectives: one was to set the scene with regards to the group of people studied. This involved gathering statistical information such as nationality, rank/job within the armed forces, and time served within the military. This was complemented by data relating to knowledge of the CSDP and a stock-take of the amount of cross-national interaction/dealing with European matters occurring in the day-to-day routines of the target group.

Focus was placed on capturing existing notions of identity amongst participants by covering different levels of identification such as a sense of belonging to the military, a region, nation-state or indeed a larger unit of reference such as Europe. However, in order to corroborate these findings and to allow for comparison with a larger data set, which arguably more closely represented the 'average European citizen', some of the questions asked corresponded to identity-related questions that formed part of the large-scale Eurobarometer surveys as well as a study on European identity carried out by Bruter a decade earlier in 2006.

Measuring European Identity

Examining existing literature on identity formation has revealed conflicting opinions on whether budding allegiances to the EU also indicate the emergence of a European identity. Previous studies have illustrated the wide-ranging interpretation of the concept of 'European identity', and also highlighted the need to further investigate how individuals interpret this concept. Consequently, they have also shown how difficult it is to measure such a fluid idea.

Bruter critically assesses the quantitative measurement of notions of European identity and points out that while there has been a significant amount of research into this matter, many of the survey questions represent "imprecise or inaccurate measures" (2008, p. 278). For instance, Eurobarometer was established in 1973 by the European Commission and Parliament in order to facilitate better understanding amongst Europeans (Eurobarometer Almanac 2013) and to track attitudes towards the European integration process. As some scholars have done, the surveys ask whether respondents perceive their country's EU membership to be beneficial as a way to measure a sense of European identity.

Bruter, however, argues that support for integration does not equal the existence of a European identity (*ibid*, p. 277). While support for European integration is certainly not sufficient proof of the existence of European identity, it represents one pillar of such an identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, support for the political institutions that represent one's community can certainly be an expression of identification (see Easton 1968). What Bruter shows however, is that investigating notions of identity requires detailed and varied questioning and cannot be measured with one variable alone.

Another problem with trying to measure identity is, what Burgess has coined its "language prison" – identity being something that is lived and dependent on context and not readily expressed through words (in Hermann *et al*., 2004). This argument is often supported during surveys or interviews where participants are asked to define their identity and many struggle to do so. One way of trying to overcome this problem is by giving respondents pre-defined options to select from. While this facilitates the evaluation of what identity means to individuals, it also contains bias towards certain interpretations of the term and thus represents another 'prison' that does not allow participants to express themselves freely.

Bruter is not the only one to criticise the way identity is measured in Eurobarometer surveys (i.e. Kaina *et al*., 2015). While it is deemed useful to include the Eurobarometer questions in this study to allow direct comparisons between the 'average European citizen' surveyed through Eurobarometer and security providers, it is also crucial to supplement these with alternative measures.

One of the key questions in the Eurobarometer survey, the so-called 'Moreno question': "In the near future, do you see yourself as – Nationality only, Nationality and European, European and Nationality, or European only" suggests there is a certain degree of friction between national and European identities (Bruter, 2008, p. 280). Moreover, it does not allow respondents to indicate they do not feel strongly about either and in fact might be more inclined to identify as a global citizen or have a dominant regional identity.

There are numerous other problematic terms when it comes to the identity discourse used in studies. Bruter suggests that the use of the words "attachment" or "pride" instead of "identity" are equally problematic as those concepts are not the same and do not in fact yield the same empirical results (2008, p. 281). Furthermore, when asked about European

identity in general, respondents mainly refer to what Bruter calls “civic identity” rather than any cultural components (Bruter, 2009, p. 1512).

In addition, studies have shown that European citizens first and foremost link ‘being European’ to borderlessness and free movement, and to the Euro (Bruter, 2005, and European Commission 2004). The European identity promoted by European elites referring to the European Union as a “peace machine” seems to be completely absent (Bruter, 2008, p. 283). These findings will be further explored in this study.

For comparative reasons, this survey thus employs questions from both the Eurobarometer survey and Bruter's own study in addition to those specifically developed for this research. By triangulating questions in this way, it is hoped that their inevitable shortcomings are somewhat diminished, albeit being fully aware that no way of evaluating ideas of identity is without problems.

Influences from Officer Role Conception Surveys

Triangulating findings from conducting empirical research amongst military and civilian staff participating in CSDP training with those from Eurobarometer will provide a greater breadth of results. However, as there has not been a study regarding identity amongst CSDP practitioners themselves, it will also be useful to draw comparisons with a military role conception study carried out by Caforio and Nuciari (1994). One hypothesis of this study builds on the notion that, at least in the past, notions of identity amongst military personnel were inextricably linked to their profession. To establish the extent to which this is still the case today, opinions on the military and motivation for joining the armed forces was also collected. Civilian and military staff were asked slightly different questions about their job

motivation, but both sets of questions were inspired by the models developed during this study. On the one hand they test the validity and relevance of Caforio's typification of military officers, on the other hand they enable a better assessment of the link between role conceptions amongst security personnel and their notions of identity.

Structure of the Online Survey

The structure of the online survey was carefully considered during the research design phase. Without a clear, fluid and easy-to-follow layout, the response rate would have been impacted negatively.

As the theoretical framework for this study was developed using the concept of strategic narratives, it formed the starting point for all of the main research methods. With regards to the online survey this meant that only questions that clearly addressed one of the strategic narrative levels and their associated themes were included in the final survey. While a large number of questions were developed initially, a rigorous sifting process ensured the topics addressed were in line with the themes of the strategic framework. Doing this also made it easier to de-bulk the survey, cutting down the time it took to complete. As other studies have shown, the length it takes to complete a survey has a significant impact on a respondent's likeliness to complete it in full (Kaina *et al.*, 2015). The survey was initially envisaged to last thirty minutes, but after consulting with supervisors and colleagues, this was revised to between fifteen and twenty minutes. This shorter length was mainly achieved by streamlining the way questions were asked and by keeping open-ended questions to a minimum. This was also done as previous research has shown that having to type freely frequently decreases completion rates (see Knapp and Heidingsfelder in Reips *et*

al., 2001). While this limited the amount of detail respondents were able to provide, it delivered consistent and comparable data.

Furthermore, by subsequently interviewing the online survey respondents, questions that had to be omitted at this stage or not asked in great detail could be addressed again during the semi-structured interview phase. The format of the survey also played an important role as presenting questions in a similar format helps to familiarise participants with the survey quickly, thus enabling them to navigate it more efficiently. This online survey was thus made up largely of multiple-choice questions, yes or no statements, sliding scales from one to five, and a small number of open-ended questions. Sliding bars were chosen, as they require active input from respondents, which according to other research has been shown to achieve higher quality data as they pre-empt non-differentiation (Krosnick, 1999, p. 556).

The full copy of the online survey can be found in Appendix 9.

Online Survey Software

This study employed the Qualtrics Online Survey Software to collect survey data. While other software such as Survey Monkey would have been adequate in terms of functionality and features, this software was chosen primarily because it is endorsed by the University of Canterbury. This meant that the survey templates already had the University's logo embedded, thus giving the survey a professional and legitimate look. Moreover, the University also has a team dedicated to the administration of Qualtrics surveys which means if any problems or issues occur during the design or collection phase, expert support is readily available. Qualtrics is a sophisticated survey tool which enables researchers to choose from a large variety of question types and styles. It also features a routing function

which improves the design and ensures a smooth and streamlined survey experience tailored to different types of survey respondents, thus further increasing the likeliness of participation in and completion of the online survey (Maronick, 2009, p. 26) The experience of using Qualtrics during this research project was quite straight-forward and simple. A pilot survey was set up and tested before copying it across to the live survey platform.

At the beginning of the survey, an information sheet and consent form were included to ensure that participants were aware of the purpose and ethical considerations of the study. As the survey mainly consisted of multiple choice and ranking questions, it took some testing in order to determine the most user-friendly and efficient way of presenting these. The format most commonly used was sliding scales and tick boxes. 'Don't know' or 'Prefer not to say' options were included in all questions as well as the possibility to specify a response not listed through selecting 'other' where appropriate. In order to deliver consistent and comparable results, the survey was set up not to allow respondents to skip questions, but a progress bar kept participants informed about the length of the survey. On completion, respondents were once again asked to give consent to their survey being used in the study. Survey data was downloaded at regular intervals to prevent loss of data in case of software failure. This also meant that any anomalies or mistakes that may have been missed during the testing would likely be detected. Qualtrics enables users to download data in a number of different formats such as CSV and SPSS to cater for different types of subsequent data analysis.

The software has a participant section where panels can be created, invited and monitored throughout the data collection. This would have been the ideal way of administering the survey as it allows the personalisation of invitations and enables the researcher to track responses. If participation is low, reminders can be sent out to participants. However,

despite the ESDC being willing to send an invitation email out to course participants, they were not ready to share participant data. This meant that a generic link was generated and then forwarded to course participants by the College instead. While this indirect invitation process and inability to send reminders may have had a negative impact on participants responding to the survey, this would have been somewhat offset by the invitation coming from a person that the course participants had previously corresponded with, making them more inclined to take part.

No major problems occurred and due to the online accessibility of the survey software, data collection could be monitored throughout the research period. After the first ten interviews had been conducted, one question was added to the survey. While it was not ideal to do this after the survey had been launched, it was easy and did not cause any issues in terms of survey administration.

Interviewing CSDP Training Participants

Employing Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews form a core part of this study. This qualitative research method was chosen because research into individuals' notions of identity requires a qualitative research element that enables study respondents to express their opinions as freely as possible without them having to modify these to fit pre-selected categories. Semi-structured interviews deliver in-depth findings (Collis and Hussey, 2003) by providing a more stimulating approach than merely conducting an online survey with respondents. Furthermore, this method also increases the likeliness of representing their actual attitudes more closely (Fowler, 2002, p. 91). A semi-structured style was chosen over an unstructured

method as the study focuses on a very specific, yet fluid concept, European identity, which is often interpreted in many different ways. If no structure was provided, the chances of gathering unusable data would increase and this would also make it more difficult to draw comparisons between respondents. On the other hand, not having a rigid interview structure and a set of unalterable questions provided the researcher with space for probing and going into more detail should the need arise. This was especially useful for course-specific questions as well as current affairs events such as the refugee crisis and Paris terror attacks which had an impact on participants' responses. Furthermore, it enabled the research to conduct interviews in the interviewee's native tongue (German-speaking respondents were interviewed in German and interviews were translated by the researcher).

Originally, a target was set of forty interviews lasting about thirty minutes each. In the end a total of sixty interviews were conducted during the three-month research period. The two figures below (*Figure 3 and 4*) provide some basic information about the interviewees and show that almost two thirds of interviewees were military staff.

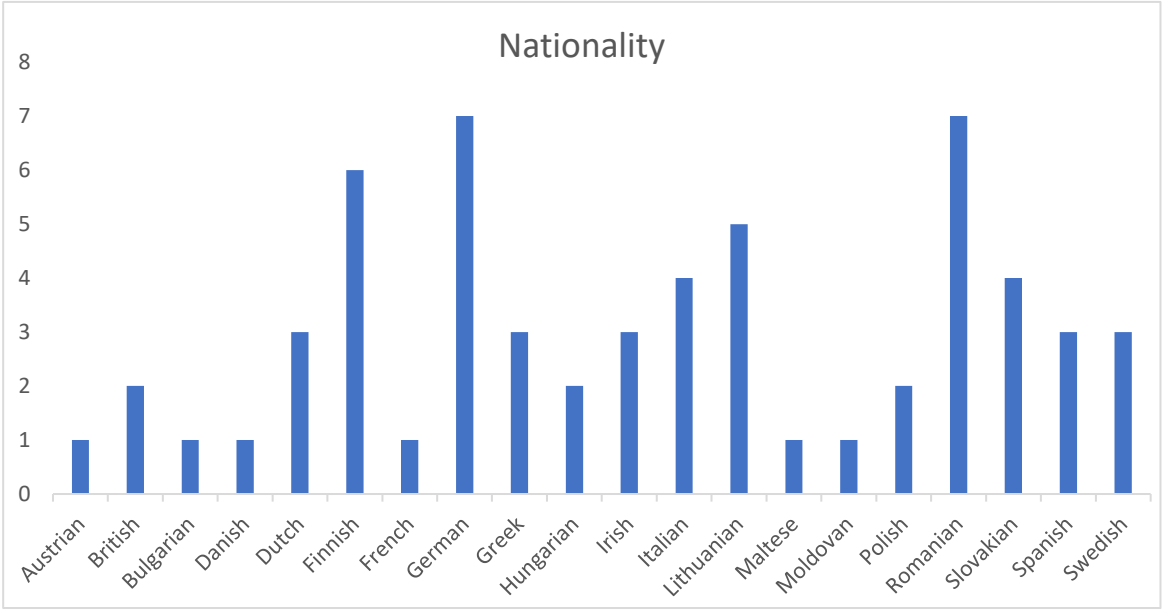

FIGURE 3 - NATIONALITY OF INTERVIWEES Source: Researcher's own data

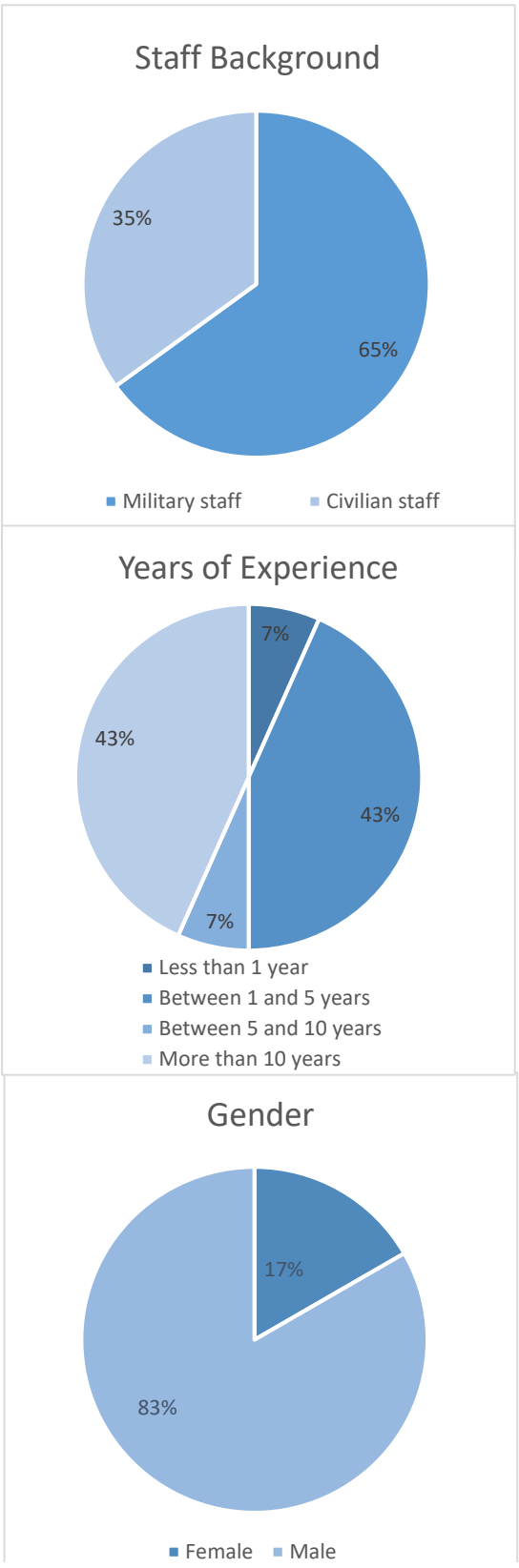

FIGURE 4 - BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT INTERVIEWEES

Source: Researcher's own data

Overall staff were quite experienced with only 14% having worked in the profession for less than 5 years. Furthermore, only ten interviewees were female. While this uneven distribution of attributes reflects the make-up of the courses and is therefore an interesting finding in itself, it also makes it difficult to draw comparisons between the different dichotomies. A larger sample would be required to do this.

While the online survey focused on attitudes and opinions prior to participating in the CSDP training course, the purpose of the interviews is to explore notions of identity in greater detail, but most importantly, to assess the impact of the training and working on CSDP implementation on practitioners' attitudes towards the EU and their notions of European identity. To avoid confusing opinion changes due to non-course related experiences as much as possible (although it is impossible to rule this out completely), focus was put on specifically asking questions regarding the participants' learning outcomes

and what they perceived the key messages of the course to be as well as what they personally found to be most - or least - useful about the course.

The researcher had an important role to play. As discussed above, while some interviewees almost certainly associated the interviewer with the ESDC and thus may have adapted their responses accordingly (see Frith and Kitzinger, 1998), others saw her as a fellow course participant and were keen to exchange views on the training course. Having built a level of rapport with many of the participants throughout the residential courses meant that while interviewing became easier and more natural, it was at times also extremely difficult not to voice personal views which might steer respondents' answers in a certain direction (Seale, 1998, p. 127).

Developing the Interview Guide

It was crucial to develop an interview guide in preparation for the interviews. This consisted of questions and prompts during the interview process. However, while consistency across all sixty interviews was important, the phrasing of questions and the order they were asked in was somewhat flexible. Prompts for probing were useful and proved necessary especially when interviewing less experienced security practitioners. Having a relatively loose interview format facilitated a more natural and "pleasant" conversation which Converse and Schuman argue delivers good data (1974, p. 22).

A number of set questions were drafted by using the theoretical framework developed around the concept of strategic narratives. While the focus of the content analysis was the projection of strategic narratives and the purpose of the online survey was to home in on pre-existing views and opinions, interviews were used to examine the reception of

narratives. Furthermore, they provided an opportunity to encourage respondents to elaborate on their notions of European identity and their understanding of CSDP. This meant that while there was some overlap between the survey and the interview, it was important not to duplicate questions so as to avoid response fatigue and ineffective data collection.

Ideally, a small pilot study testing the interview guide would have taken place prior to the research period in order to optimise the questions and prompts. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to time and budget constraints around when the fieldwork could take place. This meant that the first six interviews served as a mini pilot during which the guide was slightly reformatted. This included some minor rephrasing of questions to make them easier to understand, adding some explanatory details as well as adding the question "What does Europe mean to you?". This very open question was included because during the first few interviews it became evident that respondents often used EU and Europe interchangeably and this question tried to capture this seemingly fluid concept. Using such an open question tries to somewhat alleviate the "language prison" that the term identity finds itself in (Burgess in Hermann et.al, 2004). It also quickly became apparent that a certain order of questions seemed to work best in terms of making the interviewees feel comfortable and confident. A brief introduction to the order of questions was given by the researcher at the beginning of the interview: the first part of the interview was a review of the training course so far, followed by questions about the CSDP and the EU's role as a security provider and finishing with ideas of personal identity (as a security provider and European identity). A copy of the interview guide can be found in Appendix 10.

The Logistics of Interviewing Security Practitioners

Recruiting interviewees did not occur prior to the start of the different training courses. While this would have made the interview process more efficient, this would have also required more help from the ESDC in providing access to course participant data. At the beginning of each training course, the researcher and the study project were introduced to the group by the course organisers and participants were encouraged to volunteer their participation in the interview. The recruiting of interviewees then took place during early networking sessions and/or coffee and lunch breaks. All participants had previously completed the online survey, during which they were made aware of the next stage of the study. The timing of interviews varied from course to course. Some course organisers were happy for participants to briefly leave a session to be interviewed, whereas others insisted on interviews only occurring during break times. While the total number of interviews significantly exceeded the original target, numbers could have been maximised if interviewing had been allowed to take place during training sessions. At most venues, there was no separate room available in order to conduct the interviews, so most of the time a quiet corner had to be found instead. This sometimes meant that the quality of recordings suffered and could have been avoided if the room requirement had been indicated to the course organisers in advance.

Data Analysis

Framework for Analysing Data

In order to achieve a robust triangulation of findings that increases validity and somewhat offsets the weaknesses of each research method, analysis of all types of data takes place

within the same analytical framework. This means that analysis of all research components is undertaken using the same theoretical constructs.

As discussed in the previous chapter, this study uses the 'strategic narrative' framework developed by Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin (2013) and investigates the formation, projection and reception of strategic narratives during European CSDP training.

While the matrix below provides a brief reminder of the theoretical constructs discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter seeks to explain how the different research techniques are employed to investigate the role of strategic narratives in shaping notions of identity amongst CSDP personnel.

In order to achieve a coherent and comprehensive analysis, a coding framework was developed and applied to all types of data. This coding scheme translates the main components of Miskimmon *et al*.'s strategic narrative framework into the specific context of this study. The three different levels of narratives, system, identity and policy- specific were investigated during the early stages of the project. Considering the development of the EU's CSDP informed the research process regarding the formation of the EU's security and defence narratives and served as a starting point for studying the EU's over-arching system narratives whereas the literature review discussed the complex nature of (European)

identity. The focus on the EU's external and internal role and identity produced a preliminary coding framework (see *Figure 5* below).

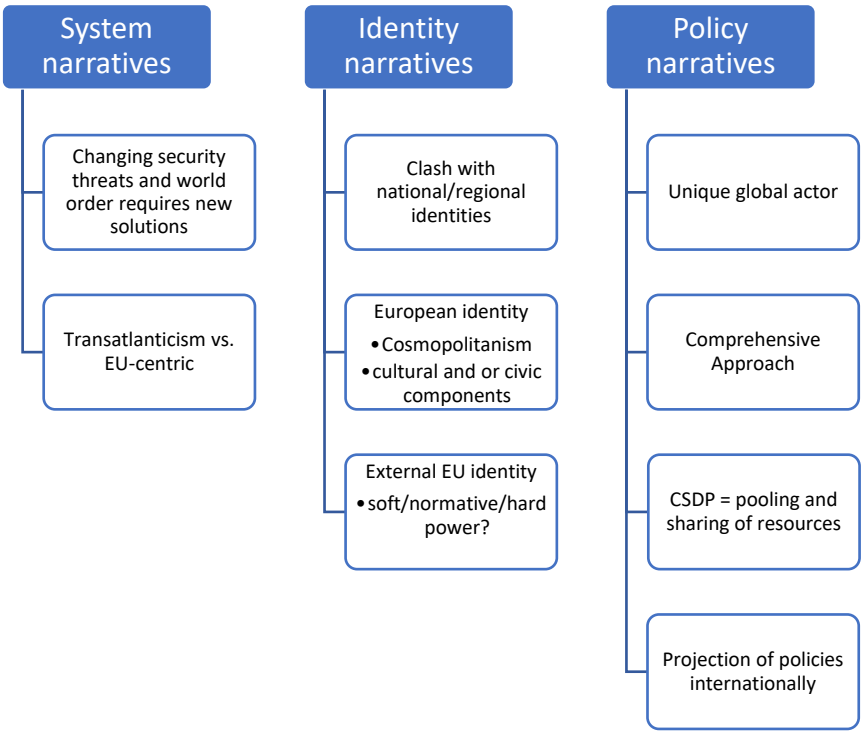

FIGURE 5 - INITIAL CODING FRAMEWORK

Source: Researcher's own

This initial scheme was then used to carry out a content analysis of the two key strategic documents – the ESS and the EUGS. This process refined and advanced the original coding matrix by putting emphasis on establishing categories and sub-themes that covered all aspects of the strategic narratives communication process, whilst remaining succinct and simple in order to streamline the analysis of all types of data. On completion of the content analysis, the final coding framework was developed and employed to develop the survey and interview guide (see *Figure 6* below).

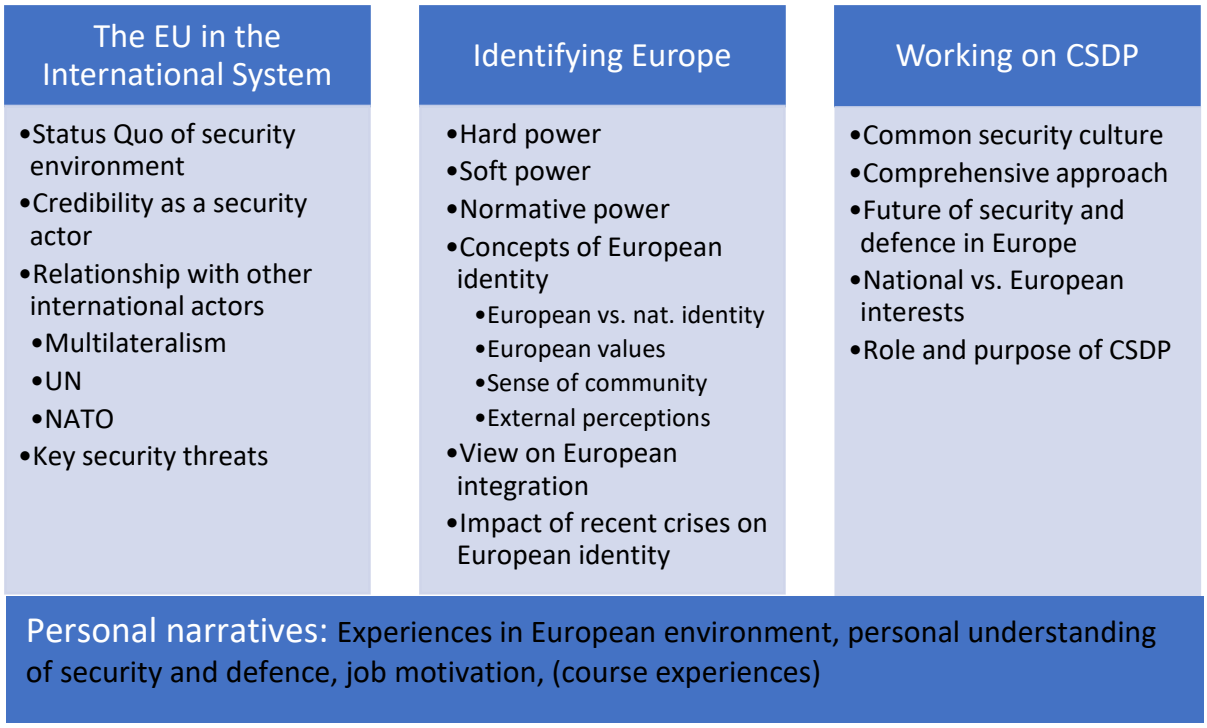

FIGURE 6 - FINAL CODING FRAMEWORK Source: Researcher's own

It uses the three levels of narrative as suggested by Roselle *et al*. (2013) and combines the key narratives found in the two security strategies with the knowledge gained from the theoretical explorations carried out in Chapters 3. As a result, an additional component was added to the three-level model of strategic narrative. As this thesis is concerned with how individuals receive the EU's strategic narratives, it recognises that personal narratives may affect this process. In order to determine whether this is the case, practitioners' experiences of Europe and the EU as well as their professional experiences need to be investigated.

This framework was then also used to code results from the online survey and semi-structured interviews with security practitioners as well as the expert interviews. While the coding themes developed during the content analysis were largely adequate for coding the interviews, a small number of additions had to be made. These consisted of coding for current affairs issues brought up in relation to CSDP and European identity as well as codes covering the participants' evaluations of the CSDP courses.

Using NVivo for Qualitative Data Analysis

Once interview data had been collected and transcribed, it was crucial to find a reliable software that would not only store the data but would also serve as a coding and analysis tool. For this purpose, NVivo 11 Pro was chosen. NVivo allows the user to import files, develop codes (or 'nodes') and apply these and then enables the researcher to access the coded data and manipulate it as appropriate for analysis. Furthermore, it also has some basic analysis tools which can generate word frequencies, charts and other data visualisations. After completing a training course on using NVivo for qualitative data analysis, the researcher felt confident enough to make use of the various features and tools provided through the software.

Creating the research project in NVivo was quite straight-forward as a coding scheme had been developed previously and merely needed setting up. Furthermore, participant 'classifications' such as gender, nationality, years of work experience, etc. were added in order to enable a detailed and differentiated analysis. Once all transcriptions had been imported, the first round of coding was carried out. The purpose of this was to establish whether the coding theme would work for the interview data and to get first impression of emerging themes and ideas. A more thorough and targeted second round of coding followed. A separate 'useful quotes' code was added. This would prove very beneficial in the analysis and discussion of interview data as it provided quick access to memorable passages.

As the same coding scheme was applied to all types of primary data, it soon became apparent that NVivo was also suitable for conducting the content analysis which had previously been started using a paper-based coding system. Moreover, data collected during the literature review was also imported into the software and coded into the scheme. This

allowed not only the triangulation of all types of empirical data collected, but also enabled the incorporation of secondary data, thus facilitating a holistic analysis of the subject. Using a software like NVivo made the analysis of a relatively large amount of qualitative data much more manageable and also had a major impact on the overall management of data.

Obtaining Ethical Approval

Ethical considerations were a vital part of the fieldwork preparations. Any research involving human subjects is required to be reviewed by the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury. While the approval application process is fairly straightforward, it was important to get the process under way well in advance of the data collection phase. This is because on the one hand, it can take time for the Committee to review the application and request for changes to be made in order to comply with regulations. On the other hand, while the ESDC did not require a separate ethical approval, the University's approval had to be in place before sending documentation off to the ESDC's Academic Board and Steering Committee.

In the application form, the researcher had to outline the purpose and different research components of the study as well as provide the online survey questions and interview guide. Furthermore, a detailed description of the subjects and the sampling process was required. This also involved drafting study information sheets and consent forms for the different stages of primary data collection. These can be found in Appendices 3 to 8.

Data Protection and Storage

A key aspect of the application was the treatment of participant data and confidentiality. After choosing the research methods and designing the questions/guide, it became apparent that it would be ideal to select interview participants from the pool of online survey respondents. This would allow for the two data sources to be combined, thus providing a more holistic and detailed insight into participants' views and attitudes. After developing the research strategy and becoming familiar with ethical regulations, it was decided that data could be discussed whilst maintaining participants' anonymity. Reassuring participants that their responses would be treated confidentially, and that no identifying data would be published also facilitated their participation. Interview data would be stored on a password-protected hard drive, accessible only to the researcher, and the only identifying feature collected during the online survey would be the email address that participants provided on a voluntary basis. De-identification was then carried out according to Human Ethics Committee guidelines: participants were allocated a code on the consent form which was then used on transcripts and any other data. Interview participants' identifying data was stored separately from the de-identified survey data. It was clearly laid out that no identifying data would be used in the written analysis and discussion of data (in the form of a PhD thesis or any resulting articles).

Focusing on CSDP Training Courses

Scholars frequently refer to the role of education and training in shaping notions of identity (see Anderson, 2006, and Billig, 1995). Furthermore, the formal setting of a training environment (the residential training courses were mainly delivered in a lecture-style) is a

unique situation in which information and messages are communicated directly to a target audience: “The formation and transmission of group standards, values, attitudes and skills are accomplished largely by means of verbal communication” (Cartwright quoted in Kassarjian, 1977, p. 8). This makes it an ideal scenario for examining the projection of narratives. In addition, the informal interactions that occur around the training sessions represent another vital aspect of the communication process as the course participants are able to digest the information they have received through networking and exchanging ideas with colleagues, thus also potentially shaping narratives at the practitioner level. Moreover, conducting this study with subjects participating in the same (or similar) courses makes it easier to relate their experiences and views to one another.

CSDP training courses coordinated by the ESDC merely represent one platform for the projection of strategic narratives in the EU security and defence context. This study could have been carried out in many different contexts such as amongst CSDP practitioners working in a certain role in the different Member States, or amongst staff in the EU Military Staff. However, as the implementation of the CSDP is focused on utilising a comprehensive approach and depends on intergovernmental cooperation, gathering data from civilian and military staff from Member States as well as EU institutions formed a vital part of this research. The training courses brought together such a cross-section of people and due to the course contents also attracted staff from all career stages, stretching from officer cadets and junior civil servants to very senior mission leaders. While conducting research with such a variety of people cannot provide any generalisable findings, it offers an insight into notions of identity amongst a wide cross-section of CSDP practitioners.

Albeit representing a somewhat artificial and unusual situation for CSDP practitioners, ESDC-coordinated training courses were also chosen as the focus of this study for practical reasons. Due to the scope of this thesis and the associated financial and time constraints, it was crucial to select a scenario that facilitated access to a large sample within a small time frame. Thanks to a travel grant, the researcher was able to schedule a three-month data collection phase in Europe.

This research sets out to achieve two objectives: The first is to establish the extent to which personnel implementing the CSDP represent a unique group of Europeans with distinct identifications, potentially similar to elite epistemic communities, or if rather they largely resemble the 'average European citizen'. Secondly, a juxtaposition with findings from a study of role conceptions among military personnel will enable an evaluation of the current relationship between role understanding and identity amongst security providers. This triangulated approach will thus help verify the findings of this study and add another dimension to their interpretation (Bryman, A., 2006).

Working with the European Security and Defence College

As this study is concerned with investigating notions of European identity amongst a specific group of individuals, CSDP practitioners, gaining access to this target group formed a crucial part of organising the collection of primary data. Research into CSDP courses soon established that the ESDC based in Brussels was responsible for coordinating a significant number of EU-wide trainings and approaching the College would be the best mechanism for gaining access. Email exchanges with the ESDC quickly revealed that the staff there were in favour of the proposal and willing to support the study. However, as the College is a virtual

network with an Academic Board and Steering Committee made up of representatives from all the Member States approval had to be sought from all parties before the ESDC could endorse the research. Information and consent letters which had been drafted during the Ethical Approval process were sent to the members of the ESDC together with a concise research proposal and research strategy outlining the different stages of the project and what access was sought. These documents can be found in Appendices 1 to 2. Furthermore, confidentiality and privacy considerations were laid out in line with University of Canterbury ethical regulations. Once these had been considered by the two governing parties, the researcher was asked to present the study at their respective meetings in Brussels. Approval to conduct the research at ESDC-coordinated training courses was then subsequently granted by the Academic Board and Steering Committee.

Endorsement of the study by the ESDC meant that the College staff would send out a survey invitation which included the relevant study information sheets to participants prior to most courses taking place between September 2015 and April 2016 (some courses were deemed unsuitable, such as ones put on for non-Europeans and were hence not included). The researcher was able to observe six different training courses which took place between September 2015 and November 2015 free of charge and was given the opportunity to give a short presentation about the project to participants at the beginning of each course and invite them to take part in an interview.

Whereas providing an incentive, such as a voucher or prize draw, for participating in the study was initially considered, the support and endorsement from the College was enough to encourage individuals to take part in the online survey and subsequent interviews. The course coordinators also went out of their way to facilitate the study through offering free

accommodation and free or heavily subsidised meals during the training courses. This hugely facilitated the logistical aspects of the study. While conducting the research would not have been possible without the ESDC, due to their exceptional support, the data collection exceeded initial expectations.

The Role of the Researcher

The researcher has an important role during the data collection process. As Neuendorf points out, any human inquiry is essentially subjective (2002, p. 11). Despite trying to adhere to Durkheim's principle of attempting to abandon all preconceptions (quoted in Seale, 1998, p. 254), researcher bias can never be completely overcome when conducting empirical research. In addition to bias on the part of the researcher, potential bias from study participants needs to be taken into account. While obtaining approval and support from the ESDC had a substantial impact on gaining access to interview and survey participants and far outweighed any drawbacks, cooperating closely with the 'projector of strategic narratives' may have had a significant effect on participants' perceptions of the study and the researcher herself.

Although it was clearly stated in all information materials and consent forms that the research was completely independent from the ESDC, there is the possibility that course participants might at times have been under the impression that the study was being carried out on behalf of the College. For example, the ESDC carries out its own course evaluations by asking participants to provide feedback on courses through an online survey. In this study, an assessment of the course and its impacts was also conducted during the interviews and due to the connection to the College, the researcher might have been

perceived as ‘part of the College’ or working for or on behalf of the College, when in reality the study was conducted completely independently and without any input from the College.

Reflecting especially on the interview process, it appears that this perceived association had, at times, two main outcomes. One was that a small number of interviewees seemed to discuss the ESDC’s course in an extremely positive light, especially in comparison with other course participants’ opinions. The second was that the researcher’s position was interpreted as being a special intermediary between the participants and the course coordinators. To a certain extent, interviews were thus used to extensively elaborate on the quality of the course and feedback on the College’s activities. While a good level of reflection on the course was certainly envisaged, at times this had to be managed carefully to keep the interview on course and within scope.

It is important to be aware of the possible impact that inferences such as these will have had on the responses given by course participants and to acknowledge that due to the researchers’ role, it is impossible to claim that course evaluations are free of bias and provide completely independently authentic views.

The role of the researcher became evident on a number of other occasions too and raised some ethical concerns. For example, while it was certainly confirmed that participation in the online survey would be aided by personally meeting potential survey respondents and them being able to ‘put a face to the name’, on a number of occasions this was taken to an uncomfortable level when comments were made that participation in the interviews would occur due to the researcher’s nice appearance. On these occasions, which often took place in very male-dominated settings, the researcher became very aware of her role and how her own position might influence data collection. While it had been anticipated that a majority

of study participants would be male, this did not influence the selection of research methods. Yet, data collection was made somewhat uncomfortable at times due to these comments and highlighted the role of gender (bias) in this process. Furthermore, it alerted the researcher to carefully consider the potential impact of gender when choosing future research methodologies.

Reliability of Findings and Limitations

It is important to discuss the impact of this study in terms of weaknesses and limitations of research methods and the reliability of findings. While this study does not seek to provide findings that are widely generalisable due to its methodological approach and choice of research methods, it has endeavoured to gather reliable data by using robust and consistent data collection techniques. The biggest factor in ensuring the quality of findings, however, was the adoption of a mixed methods approach itself. When conducting qualitative research, it is almost impossible to avoid personal interpretations and researcher bias whereas quantitative methods restrict one's ability to home in on individuals. This is why a mixed method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative aspects was deemed the most appropriate. As highlighted above, the combination of different research methods somewhat compensated for the weaknesses of individual methods and the relatively small scale of this study and the resulting sample sizes.

Apart from the method-related limitations, there were a number of other factors which influenced findings. Firstly, the presumed nature of European identity, constantly evolving and being (re-)constructed means that it is also shaped by current events. Around the time of the fieldwork period towards the end of 2015, the aftermath of the financial crisis as well

as the refugee crisis all seemed to impact on participants' perceptions of Europe/the EU. Had the research been carried out in the wake of Brexit, for example, findings might have been very different. The study can therefore only ever be a snapshot of notions of European identity at a given time. It is also important to stress that CSDP practitioners merely represent one specific group of people actively involved in implementing EU policy. They are quite distinct as they are a non-homogenous sample that combined national civil servants and military personnel as well as EU staff. While this makes for an interesting case study, it is also impossible to draw generalisations from any of the findings to other groups such as staff employed directly by the EU, or national civil servants/military.

Conclusion to Chapter 5

This chapter has set out which research methods have been used to collect empirical data for this study and why they were chosen. Furthermore, it has highlighted the logistical matters that accompanied the data collection and analysis stages and outlined the application of the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter. Elucidating issues such as working with the ESDC, the organisation and setting of interviews as well as the software used to collect, and code data will provide valuable context and background information for the analysis of primary data in the following chapters. Furthermore, by critically evaluating the research approach, this chapter has laid out ways in which future research can replicate, build and improve on findings from this study.

CHAPTER 6: The Formation of European Security and Defence Narratives

“Narratives take actors from one *status quo* to another” (Miskimmon *et al.*, 2014, p. 7). CSDP-related strategic narratives play a crucial role in trying to convince security practitioners of the need to cooperate on the integration of European security and defence. As Freedman argues, narratives are designed or nurtured with the intention of structuring the responses of others to developing events (quoted in *ibid*, p. 3) and those who shape them seek, in the short term, to "extend their influence, manage expectations and change the discursive environments in which they operate" (*ibid*, p. 2). Miskimmon *et al.* further argue that "in the long term, getting others […] to buy into your strategic narrative can shape their interests, their identity, and their understanding of how international relations works and where it is heading (*ibid*, p. 3).

While the focus of this study is on investigating if and how these narratives become persuasive and develop into a sense-making framework that nurtures a European integration identity amongst practitioners, it is also vital to consider their formation. By examining how security and defence-related narratives are formed and considering the actors involved in shaping them, this chapter seeks to capture the intention and vision of EU security policymakers. It does so by investigating two key types of communication:

1) **Drafting of the ESS and EUGS** - tracing the processes that led to the drafting of the ESS and the EUGS is an important component of analysing the formation of strategic narratives regarding European security and defence. This includes considering the context in which they were composed as well as their original purpose. This analysis is informed by an interview conducted with Natalie Tocci, Special Adviser to EU High

Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission (HRVP) Federica Mogherini and was in charge of coordinating the drafting of the EUGS.

2) **The work of the ESDC** – the College is tasked with coordinating EU-wide training on CSDP matters and thus makes a significant contribution to the formation of strategic narratives by compiling standardised curricula. As a training coordinator it also plays a vital role in the projection of these narratives. Examining the structure and work of the ESDC is supplemented by a number of expert interviews with individuals in charge of coordinating the College's training activities and some of the trainers involved in their delivery.

The Role of the ESS and EUGS in Forming CSDP-Related Strategic Narratives

The European Security Strategy

While there are numerous official documents that could serve as points of analysis for the CSDP, the two security strategies were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, their principal aim is to outline the EU's vision of security and defence and also represent a key aspect of the work of the HR/VP, which is to develop strategy through consultation with Member States. As Tocci points out, "strategy-making is an identity-building exercise" (2017, p. 17), thus making the two documents particularly relevant to the investigation of an emerging European integration identity. Secondly, as this thesis is concerned with the views and attitudes of security practitioners at all levels rather than strategy experts, they are most likely to be familiar with these two key documents rather than less visible strategy outputs (such as the ESS Implementation Report in 2008 or the Strategic Review in 2015).

However, as the EUGS was published after data collection took place, it is not possible to assess the impact of its strategic narratives on the security practitioners who participated in this research. Despite this, it forms an important aspect of this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, comparing the two strategies in terms of narratives provides a vital insight into how the EU's vision of European security and defence has developed since 2003 and how the identity it communicates has evolved. Secondly, including the EUGS in this thesis underlines the interconnectedness of the reception, formation and projection of narratives. While the impact of the EUGS' narratives cannot be investigated, the extent to which security practitioners' views and attitudes are reflected in the EUGS can be considered. This aspect is evidenced by the comprehensive consultation phase that preceded the publication of the EUGS and included Tocci attending one of the CSDP training courses not only to inform practitioners about the latest developments in the drafting process, but to use the course as a platform for consulting with them, thus contributing to the formation of EU strategic narratives.

The focus of this chapter is therefore on the drafting process of the strategies while the subsequent chapter looks at the projection of narratives communicated through these documents in more detail.

The drafting of the ESS was a European ground-breaking event with regards to the formation of security and defence-related strategic narratives. For the first time, the EU spelt out its vision for security cooperation in Europe, producing a document to facilitate the creation of an external European security identity, as well as a framework designed to persuade Member States of the necessity to cooperate and integrate security and defence matters. While the ESDP had been adopted a few years prior to its drafting, progress on its

implementation was affected by the aftermath of 9/11 and the ensuing 'War on Terror'. These events caused a significant rift amongst Member States with regards to engaging militarily in the Middle East, once again highlighting some Member States' preference of transatlantic allegiance over European integration (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 54). It was at this point that the EU tasked Javier Solana, the then High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, with the creation of a strategy document for the EU that would try to overcome recent divisions over how to respond to security crises. Furthermore, it was deemed to be a necessary response to the NSS published by the Bush administration in the United States (Pape 2005; Paul 2005; Posen 2006; Jones 2007).

The drafting process was quite swift and involved setting up a small team of experts who were charged with putting together an initial draft document which was presented to the European Council in June 2003. Six months of consultation followed during which seminars in various European capitals were convened, as well as consultations with the Political and Security Committee held, before it was formally adopted by the Council at the end of 2003 (Tocci, 2016, p. 462).

Emphasis was placed on juxtaposing the EU's approach to that of the US by stressing the EU's view of military intervention being a last resort, only to be used in conjunction with other 'peaceful' means such as political, economic, humanitarian and diplomatic measures (Bailes, 2008, p. 118).

In addition to situating the EU's approach to security and defence in a wider, international context, the ESS also had an internal purpose. As the EU had never been a military power in its own right, and many Member States continued to be reluctant to engage militarily through the EU (Meyer, 2005, p. 538/9), strong emphasis was placed on the EU's 'normative

power'. One of the strategy's key narratives was thus centred around the idea that "the European perspective offers […] an incentive for reform" (Council of the European Union, 2003) resulting in other countries wanting to emulate the EU's values and ways of acting on the international stage. Working towards a world order that is made up of "well-governed, democratic states" (*ibid*, p. 10) by employing its "full spectrum of instruments" (*ibid*) was thus a vision in line with but progressing from the EU's non-military role as it indicated the EU's willingness to use force. A detailed look at how the EU attempted to project this 'normative power' narrative is undertaken in the next chapter.

As Miskimmon *et al.* point out, "the parameters of [the EU]'s strategic narratives are bounded by prevailing domestic and international understandings and expectations of [the EU], its history and evaluations of its reputation" (2014, p. 8). In this case, that means many, at times conflicting, interpretations of its role, especially with regards to security and defence co-exist. However, narratives also create a vision of the future and the ESS sought to shift the EU's role towards becoming a more comprehensive international actor by emphasising its responsibility in dealing with emerging security threats. Whereas the EU had previously tried to avoid using the term threat, this new policy document specifically set out to respond to new security threats (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 54). The EU's ambition to become a more active security actor was accompanied by a perceived need to develop greater internal cohesion through the creation of common threat perceptions and a common security culture.

While the ESS reflects the EU's short-term security goals and the environment it was written in, the drafting process itself made it difficult to generate a shared vision for European security and defence. Despite its official adoption by the European Council, the formation of

narratives within the ESS was largely carried out by a small working group. The EU's focus was on the swift production of a security strategy, thus missing out on potential long-term 'buy-in' from Member States that could have been fostered by a more thorough consultation process.

Shaping a New Narrative for the EU in the EUGS - an Interview with Natalie Tocci, Special Advisor to HR/VP Mogherini

As part of a number of interviews with experts involved in the process of shaping EU security and defence narratives, an interview was conducted with Natalie Tocci, special advisor to HR/VP Mogherini. The interview took place in November 2015, some seven months before the EUGS was published. The purpose of this interview was to gain insight into the ongoing drafting process and to learn more about how this new strategy document related to the ESS. The interview also helped to trace the EUGS' impact on the notion of a common security culture and the idea of a European identity.

Tocci highlighted a few key aspects that shaped the drafting process. She believed that security narratives had changed greatly since the drafting of the ESS in 2003 and considered the then current security climate as a "slightly schizophrenic moment" (personal interview, 2015). She explained that "we are living through a time of renationalisation of foreign policy" in which a "purely national narrative of closure" is emerging because "we don't really like the direction the world is going in, therefore we need to close up". She went on to argue that:

> It's not only a renationalisation of foreign policy, but also a shift away from foreign policy decision making by foreign ministries which have generally been the ones who

> have been engaged in long term, strategic thinking as opposed to chanceries and Heads of State and Government. And those trends are leading to a great amount of division. That trend is undeniable.

However, Tocci also observed a trend in the other direction - a reaction to the emergence of new and complex security crises - and remarked:

> You have this growing awareness that because of the kind of challenges we are facing, because the world is changing basically, there is very little that governments can achieve by acting on their own. We have a growing appreciation of that. The general sense of feeling how important it is to stick together is more strongly felt today than it was, say 10 years ago". (*ibid*)

She further illustrated how these competing security narratives affected the EUGS drafting process by revealing that certain countries wanted a strategy that "remains tilting towards the vision/abstract, less operational and not too chest-beating about defence issues". On the other hand, there were countries that "want exactly the opposite. They want something operational - something hard-nosed about defence issues" (*ibid*).

In addition to a growing awareness of the need for greater cooperation as well as an opposing trend towards the "renationalisation of foreign policy", Tocci believed that one of the main differences between the ESS and the EUGS was the way in which the EU sought to engage with the rest of the world. The ESS had a strong emphasis on the EU as an exporter of norms and values. It was "premised on the idea that the world was going in our direction, and it was up to us to shape the world, […] to remake the world in our image". She was adamant that if this narrative hadn't disappeared already, it had to go because it was simply "no longer an option". Instead she suggested that the EUGS needed to recognise that it was

not about striving towards "a world looking like us, not assuming that we have the solutions to every problem or assuming that we know better than others". Instead, she argued, the EUGS was about "reformulating what European engagement is going to look like".

As a result, she noted that the EUGS starts with "interests, not threats, and then goals. The goals reflect the risks, but also the opportunities. […] We want to tackle the 'how' question, not only the 'what' question" (*ibid*). While the ESS was excellent at talking about vision, Tocci pointed out that "we don't have the luxury of just doing the vision thing we had in 2003. The world is such a mess. It's simply about protecting who we are, not imposing it on others".

Tocci also referred to the very different approach taken to drafting the EUGS. As opposed to the ESS (which, as already mentioned, was written by a relatively small group of practitioners in a matter of months), the drafting of the EUGS was preceded by a strategic reflection exercise which the NCRE contributed to with its research project "EU Perceptions in 10 Strategic Partners: Analysis of the Perception of the EU and EU's Politics Abroad". The exercise was carried out because at the time "there was no consensus to engage in a new strategy. That consensus had to be constructed". Furthermore, in a separate article she stated that "if one of the basic purposes of the EUGS was to forge a common narrative on foreign and security policy among Europeans, it could not be a strategy cooked up in a room by one or two people. It had to be the product of a collective effort" (2016, p. 465). Such an inclusive approach was also more likely to result in increased support for the Strategy (*ibid*, p. 466). Thus, the drafting process involved engagement with the wider community, including outreach and consultation with national parliaments, think tanks and academics. While many people took an interest and proactively made proposals and organised

meetings, Tocci pointed out that it proved difficult to move "beyond the usual suspects. […] It's already difficult to engage with citizens from the national level, let alone the European level". Despite these difficulties she believed "the public does actually look to the European level for answers. It's as if the public understands that certain answers cannot be found at national level. You can argue that Europeans expect this from Europe".

When asked about the notion of a common European security culture amongst security practitioners, she argued that this was a "shared definition of what the goals of European foreign policy are and an understanding that it is only at the European level that most of these things can be achieved". Tocci linked this to:

> A sense that the national interest is distinct from the European interest but cannot be achieved without the European level. It's not about subsuming the national into the European, but sort of appreciation, which is cultural in a sense, that one cannot be achieved without the other.

This focus on interests was also reflected in her interpretation of the idea of a European identity amongst security practitioners. She believed such an identity existed, but on a "completely different level from the national one. It's not really about a deeply shared sense of common belonging. It's more of an interest-driven identity; there is a growing sense that there needs to be a shared sense of direction".

Tocci's realist definition of European identity suggests that, at least in the context of security and defence, an identification with Europe based on interests is sufficient in order to increase cooperation and integration. While no concrete plans had been made for communicating the strategy to practitioners at the time of interview, the decision to involve a large variety of stakeholders in the drafting process indicates that 'buy-in' and

identification with the strategy from all levels was sought from the beginning. In fact, the interviewer first met Tocci at an ESDC training course where she presented the latest developments to security practitioners and informed them how they could continue to engage with the process, thus trying to generate 'buy-in' from the beginning and at grass-roots levels.

The European Security and Defence College – Shaping EU Security and Defence Thinking?

Having examined the formation of strategic narratives through the drafting of the ESS and the EUGS, this study also focuses on the role of the ESDC in shaping and most importantly projecting these narratives to European security practitioners.

While the ESDC's main purpose is the communication of a shared understanding of European security and defence, it certainly plays a significant role in shaping narratives. In 2005, the ESDC was created to provide a platform for strategic-level training and education on European Security and Defence matters, thus corresponding to the changing dynamics of security provision in Europe. Despite training and education primarily remaining the responsibility of individual Member States, for the first time a concerted effort was made to provide a channel for the 'pooling and sharing' of CSDP resources on this matter. As the first Head of the College, Weisserth, explained, this was also a way of reducing Member States' training expenditure which, in many cases, was becoming increasingly unsustainable (personal interview, 2015).

The ESDC is charged with providing CSDP training to "develop and promote a common understanding of CSDP among civilian and military personnel (Council Decision (CFSP) 2016/2382 as amended by CD (CFSP) 2018/712). Moreover, the ESDC's aim is not only to

create a better understanding of the CSDP amongst staff, it has also been established to foster better communication amongst multinational CSDP staff and to facilitate the emergence of a common security culture (see *ibid*).

This means the College seeks to coordinate CSDP training within the EU which Member States participate in and contribute to on a voluntary basis. Efforts are made to render courses across Europe more coherent and standardised by encouraging Member States to engage in the College's activities and through the development of standardised curricula for core courses. The structure of the College reflects the intergovernmental nature of EU foreign policy decision-making as the College's activities require consensus from all EU Member States. Furthermore, as Weisserth points out, any member can suggest conducting pilot projects which are then included in the permanent training calendar if deemed useful by the Committee. By involving all member institutions in the formation of course content and making it freely available to anyone who wants to use it, the College aims to further increase its reach. Its Executive Academic Board is tasked with ensuring the quality and coherence of all courses while the Steering Committee has overall responsibility for training activities. Both the Board and the Committee meet on a regular basis and any additions or changes to the curricula have to be agreed by all members. It is then up to the individual members of the ESDC (consisting of more than140 European civilian and military educational and research institutions) to implement the courses on a voluntary basis and with guidance from the ESDC. This usually means that national hosting partners are principally in charge of sourcing speakers. The presenters are given a topic to discuss, yet largely retain control over the content of their contributions. Furthermore, as the ESDC has a limited budget and does not charge tuition fees, it also relies on the partner institutions to keep course-related costs to a minimum. Depending on the location of the course, this often

makes recruiting national speakers more financially appealing than having to spend money on bringing in presenters from abroad.

Since its creation, more than 24,000 people have undertaken CSDP training arranged by the ESDC through more than 100 training events per year. As of 2019, the College has the capacity to provide training to approximately 5,500 staff per year which represents a significant increase since 2015 (when it was approximately 1,500) and coordinates the annual delivery of a variety of different training courses. For example, in the academic year 2014/15, The ESDC provided over 80 training activities aimed at both military and civilian staff covering basic training, specialist/pre-deployment courses as well as high level training opportunities.

Its two flagship residential courses are the CSDP Orientation Course (five days), which is intended for mid-ranking staff working on CSDP issues and the High-Level Course (four one-week modules spread over a year) tailored towards senior staff and decision-makers. Both also include an online learning component. In 2015, 12 Orientation courses were hosted by 11 different institutions, of which three were observed as part of this research (Brussels, Bucharest and Rome). Furthermore, one of the four modules of the High-Level Course formed part of this study. Both courses have core curricula that have been agreed by all members and should therefore serve as guidelines for the hosting institutions.

The purpose of the CSDP Orientation Course is to provide participants with knowledge regarding the CSDP institutional framework, current policies, as well as structures and processes. It is also meant to offer networking opportunities to personnel involved in implementing the CSDP.

The following topics have been deemed to be key course content:

- EU Institutional Framework (Treaties, European Parliament, Council, Commission and the Member States).
- Key CSDP documents (EUGS, Capability Development Plan and Civilian Capability Development Plan).
- EU Decision -Making in Crisis Management.
- Civil-Military co-ordination in CSDP missions and operations.
- CSDP missions and operations (characteristics, challenges and effects).
- Coherence of EU action in crisis management (instruments and partners).
- Working with Partners and International Organisations.
- Horizontal issues, SSR, Gender and human rights aspects in CSDP or regional focus/thematic

Table 3 gives an idea of the intended course structure:

Course structure		
Main Topic	**Recommended Working Hours (of that eLearning)**	**Contents**
EU's strategic environment	6 (3)	• The new EU Global Strategy and its implementation • European Agenda on Security (Internal Security Strategy) • EU strategies and concepts related to CSDP
EU crisis management structures	9 (3)	• EU structures ruled by the EU Member State's: European Council; Council of Ministers; Political and Security Committee; EU Military Committee; Committee for Civilian Aspects; Political and Military Group • EEAS crisis management structures: Deputy General Secretary for CSDP; Prevention of Conflicts, Rule of Law/Security Sector Reform, Integrated Approach, Stabilisation and Mediation (PRISM); Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD); Security Policy Directorate (SECPOL); EU Military Staff (EUMS) and the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC); Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC); Intelligence and Analysis Centre (EU IntCen) • Supporting structures: EU Satellite Centre, European Defence Agency, European Security and Defence College, EU Institute for Security Studies
CSDP procedures and decision making process	5 (3)	• Political Framework for Crisis Approach (PFCA) • Guidelines for the CSDP crisis management procedures
CSDP missions and operations and the Capabilities Development	5	• Capability Development Mechanism/Plan • Civilian and Military Headline Goals • Civilian and Military Capabilities Development • EU CSDP missions and operations deployed on the field
Horizontal issues and regional aspects of CSDP	8 (3)	• Horizontal issues such as Security Sector Reform, Migration, Non-Proliferation, Gender, Human and Children Rights, Terrorism • Regional aspects such as Western Balkans, Eastern Partnership, Horn of Africa, Middle East, Mediterranean • Partnerships with third countries (incl. FPA) and International Organisations (i.e. UN, OSCE, NATO, AU).
EU's Comprehensive Approach	4	• Joint Communication on the Comprehensive Approach • The role of CSDP within the integrated approach • EU Comprehensive Approach action plan • EU comprehensive/integrated approach in practice
Syndicate assignment	9 (3)	• Elaborate common reflection points [working groups]
TOTAL	46 (15)	

TABLE 3 - SAMPLE CSDP MODULE OUTLINE

Source: Taken from ESDC Orientation Course Standard Curriculum 2017

The High-Level Course with its four modules seeks to cover the above aspects in more depth, but also at a more advanced level and with a much more strategic perspective, thus providing participants with CSDP knowledge relevant for leadership positions. Furthermore, by spreading the course over a whole year, participants are encouraged to build lasting working relationships with fellow course members and reflect on course content in-between modules.

EMILYO – European Initiative for the Exchange of Military Young Officers

This initiative modelled on ERASMUS was agreed by a Council Conclusion in 2008 as a means to "strengthen the interoperability of the armed forces and promote a European security and defence culture" (Council Conclusion 15396/08). The ESDC was tasked with assisting national training academies to provide mobility opportunities to students and staff and to "facilitate shared approaches to the training of young European officers, in particular in the field of the ESDP" (*ibid*.). The Initiative consists of both exchange semesters and shorter residential modules with a focus on CSDP and are open to all EU Member States. The aim is to give students the opportunity to learn as well as train together, thus providing them with a greater understanding of European security and defence at the start of their careers. Two one-week modules, which took place at the Theresian Military Academy in Austria, formed part of this study and officers-in-training were also surveyed online.

There are numerous other training tools that the EU has introduced, such as 'Europe's New Training Initiative for Civilian Crisis Management' (ENTRi). This programme is sponsored by the European Commission and has 13 participating Member States. Moreover, it is also available to UN Peacekeeping, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

and African Union staff. Moreover, training is provided by other EU institutions such as the EUMS (EU Military Staff) providing briefings and updates from their 'lessons learned exercises'. While it would be very valuable to compare how these different bodies contribute to the shaping of narratives and their subsequent projection, due to the scope of this thesis, this study can only focus on the work of the ESDC.

The ESDC's Approach to Shaping a Common Security Culture

One of the key aims of these different training options is to create a common security culture amongst European security practitioners. When the ESDC was founded, EU officials referred to their vision of a creating common "European security culture" through education and training in the College's Mission Statement (Council Joint Action 2005/575/CFSP). The term 'security culture' is used and interpreted in many different ways and sometimes replaced by 'strategic culture' by the EU. Yet, many scholars would argue that strategic culture and security culture are two different things. While Gariup defines security culture as a "set of enduring and shared assumptions, beliefs and attitudes about threats and referent objects" (2009, p. 41), she considers strategic culture to refer to "the means deemed appropriate to make security" (*ibid*). Other scholars describe it as a shared mind-set involving "references to beliefs, ideas, attitudes, worldviews, collective memories, as well as practices, habits, traditions or patterns of behaviour" (Gray, 1999a; Heiselberg, 2003; Johnston, 1995; Longhurst, 2004; Martinsen, 2004, quoted in Meyer, 2005, p. 528) which facilitate the implementation of the CSDP. Meyer combines the two differing notions by arguing that strategic culture comprises "the socially transmitted, identity derived norms, ideas and patterns of behaviour that are shared among a broad majority of actors and social

groups within a given security community, which help to shape a ranked set of options for a community's pursuit of security and defence goals (2005, p. 528). As this study focuses on investigating the emergence a shared value system that forms part of a European identity amongst security practitioners, Meyer's definition of the term security culture best reflects the interwoven relationship between norms, values, identity and support for EU security and defence. In practice, Howorth argues that "national policy preferences […] will have to be offset against a growing awareness of the ways in which security policy is perceived by partner countries", thus going beyond national interests (2002, p. 89).

Some scholars argue that a common security culture either already exists amongst elites (Gariup, 2009, p. 117), or that it has been gradually emerging over the last few decades but requires a thorough socialisation process as well as an increasing harmonisation of approaches to the use of military force (Howorth, 2002, p. 89/90). At the same time there is no doubt that diverging national security cultures have resulted in incongruous interpretations of the CSDP as well as the ESS and EUGS. Taking the case of France for example, its strategic culture is fashioned by an ambivalent relationship with NATO and a continuing relationship with its former colonies, both of which have resulted in France pursuing a powerful security and defence role for the EU (Irondelle and Besancenot in Kirchner and Sperling (eds.), 2010). While some Member States are clearly "quite prepared to consider the use of force as legitimate to defend certain values and beliefs", others such as Germany have, for historical reasons, developed a culture which regards the use of force as a last resort that is to be avoided (Meyer, 2005, p. 529). Discussing national security cultures in detail is beyond the scope of this study but touching on these diverging notions

shows the complexities that the EU's ambition of creating a common European security culture entails.

With regards to this thesis, which focuses on the impact of the training courses coordinated by the ESDC and thus indirectly the creation of a European security culture, it is therefore vital to investigate not only notions of European identity, but also the construction of a European security culture as one manifestation of a shared sense of identity in EU security and defence. When asked for a definition, the former Head of the ESDC responded that it is simply creating a common understanding of the CSDP and "having a flexible, comprehensive approach to crisis management" that is "pervasive through all levels of hierarchy. […] Staff in management positions are important, but it has to be pervasive and start with teaching the most junior staff" (personal interview, 2015). The current Head of the College, Dubois, has continued to place the creation of a common security culture at the core of the ESDC's activities as indicated in its latest publication "What we are – What we do" (2017) in which it calls itself "facilitator of a European security culture" (p. 9). Furthermore, he describes the EU's security environment as a "ring of fire" and is of the opinion that unless EU Member States pull together and increase their cooperation on security and defence matters, Europe will "start to lose more and more influence in the world" (personal interview, 2015). While Dubois contemplates that greater cooperation may only be achieved through a crisis such as the influx of migrants, he deems the pursuit of a common security culture that fosters a "shared understanding of potential threats and interests" to be the best approach to becoming a more effective security actor. His view is similar to Kantner's, suggesting that there needs to be greater awareness of 'sitting in the same boat' amongst practitioners, but that it may take a drastic event for Europeans to really pull together.

Getting security practitioners to adopt a truly 'comprehensive approach' is another key aspect of creating a common security culture and the ESDC tries to achieve this through its course content, but also by bringing together civilian and military staff from various fields related to security and defence, who might not otherwise interact, on residential courses with plenty of networking opportunities. As Dubois points out, applying a comprehensive approach, or to use the term introduced by the EUGS – integrated approach- is much easier when "you can just pick up the phone and say 'Hey, we met on the ESDC course. We need to work together on this" (personal interview 2015).

While the College's activities and remit have increased significantly over the last five years, it is also obvious that buy-in from the Member States varies significantly and the creation of a common security culture remains a slow process. Due to the EU's nature and the ESDC's structure, the communication of narratives to course participants is mainly carried out locally. This means that the many voices that deliver ESDC-coordinated training courses reflect the diversity of the EU, but also make it difficult to project narratives coherently. When the College was founded, smaller nations especially welcomed the sharing of training resources, whereas others questioned the need for more institutions, especially since the NATO Defence College had been successfully delivering international courses since 1951. Weisserth remarked that this resulted in the continuous need to justify the existence of the virtual College, especially at the beginning. Indeed, he pointed out that, "still today, you will struggle to find links to EU level training courses on certain Member States' training academy websites" (personal interview 2015). Participation in the training courses and activities of the ESDC may vary significantly from country to country, yet there is no doubt that the work of the ESDC has contributed to raising awareness of, and harmonising training

on CSDP. By producing standardised curricula on CSDP matters, the ESDC is participating in the formation of European security and defence narratives.

Conclusion to Chapter 6

When examining the ways in which the ESS and EUGS were drafted and how training on European security and defence is increasingly being harmonised, it becomes obvious that the EU is increasingly working towards creating more coherent narratives that can facilitate the creation of a common security culture and ultimately contribute to a change in the way European security is carried out. But it is also obvious that these new narratives have to compete with longer-established national and international ones that may favour international cooperation through NATO or promote a greater degree of sovereignty in the realm of security and defence. This highlights the importance of the EU's efforts to project its security and defence narratives and renders an analysis of what this looks like in practice vital.

CHAPTER 7: Projecting Strategic Narratives Relating to European Security and Defence

When it comes to shaping notions of European identity, one of the key processes is to outline the EU's role and identity in relation to other actors within the international system and to frame the context within which its identity is to function. The EU tries to project not only a certain vision of itself externally in its relations with other international actors, but at the same time internally to its citizens, many of whom remain or have become sceptical of the EU's ambition to further increase cooperation and integration. Thus, creating and projecting a view of the world which necessitates the existence of EU security and defence cooperation is a crucial step in establishing and maintaining support for European security integration. Security practitioners in the EU, who for the most part work for national institutions, are confronted with these narratives through their work, but in particular, when attending ESDC-coordinated training courses.

This chapter therefore investigates the projection of strategic narratives in relation to the Common Security and Defence Policy as a way of facilitating the emergence of a European integration identity. The two key identity-shaping documents that form part of this study are the European Security Strategy from 2003 and the European Global Strategy (2016). Not only do they represent the EU's main strategic documents for the implementation of the CSDP, as Gariup notes they affirm a level of coherence and epitomize the EU's dominant discourse on security and defence (2009, p. 121). Furthermore, they also "serve as the connecting thread throughout the trainings organised by the ESDC" (Biscop and Andersson, 2008, p. 2) thus representing a key component in the projection of strategic narratives through CSDP training.

The analysis of strategic narratives is conducted in three steps. The first part of the chapter investigates how visions of the international system are communicated in the two strategy documents. This is followed by an examination of notions of European identity. Lastly an examination of the narratives communicating the role of CSDP in security provisions is undertaken.

By conducting a content analysis of the ESS and the EUGS, one is able to establish key concepts and narratives as well as trace how these have developed and changed since the creation of the CSDP. In addition, the triangulation of all three levels of narratives provides a more holistic insight into the EU's view of the international system, the EU's place in it and the role of the CSDP in European security and defence provision. All three components are crucial for the successful implementation of EU foreign policy as illustrated by Hill and Wallace who stated more than two decades ago that an "identity of beliefs, values, and preferences, […] reshaped by the interpretation of external and internal developments, is essential for the construction of an effective foreign and security policy" (1996, p. 8). More recently, this was further underlined by Meyer who argued that the successful implementation of the ESS would depend "not just on the creation of the requisite military and civil capabilities, but also on a pool of sufficiently shared norms, beliefs and ideas regarding the means and ends of defence policy" (2005, p. 524).

While a detailed analysis of the two strategy documents focuses on the content of EU security and defence narratives, when trying to examine their projection, it is also vital to consider how and by whom they are communicated in practice. A brief look at the training courses that formed part of this study is also undertaken at the end of this chapter. These courses provide a platform for interaction between projectors and receivers of strategic

narratives and as such serve to highlight the reciprocal link between policy-makers and implementers. By increasingly cooperating at EU level and undergoing joint training on CSDP, practitioners are not only confronted with potentially conflicting notions of different levels of narratives (i.e. European, national, regional), they also contribute to shaping narratives and notions of European identity at the same time (Freedman quoted in Ringsmose and Børgesen; 2011, p. 507).

While the content analysis that formed part of this study was largely conducted in a deductive manner to construct an accurate strategic narrative framework specific to CSDP, it took as a starting point well known concepts related to security policies in Europe. Howorth suggests a number of dichotomies that are apparent amongst security cultures in Europe including "allied/neutral, Atlanticist/European, power projection/territorial defence, military/civilian instruments" (2002, p. 89). While this is by no means a comprehensive list of themes that may shape the EU's strategic narratives, it was a helpful guide when conducting the initial content analysis of the ESS and EUGS.

Successful projection of strategic narratives, Ringsmose and Børgesen point out, can only occur when narratives are perceived to be coherent and consistent (2011, p. 514). Furthermore, narratives need to "make sense of events related to the use of military force in ways that are likely to give rise to a particular feeling or opinion" (Antoniades, O'Loughlin, and Miskimmon, 2010) by "resonat[ing] with the intended audience's core values" and thus tying "events together in an explanatory framework" (Ringsmose and Børgesen, 2011, p. 512). However, due to the nature of the EU, strategic narratives have an added degree of complexity as there is a possibility that "similar challenges, similar threats, and similar international obligations" (Dimitriu and De Graaf, 2016 p. 7) may be narrated in completely

diverging ways by different countries. This highlights the challenge for new strategies to either resonate with existing ones or be robust enough to be able to compete with them.

Section a): Analysing the Strategies: What is Their Purpose?

The ESS - Catalyst for a Fledgling CSDP?

Drafting a strategy document for European security and defence was the EU's first attempt at projecting narratives aimed at explaining its future vision for European security and defence and fostering support for the implementation of the CSDP. Furthermore, it was a response to the US National Security Strategy and served to outline how the EU sought to respond in the aftermath of 9/11. However, since its adoption in the early 2000s, the CSDP and specifically the 2003 European Security Strategy that followed have often been interpreted as too vague and leaving too much room for differing interpretations by EU Member States. Lindley-French argues that the strategy merely represents a "pre- concept" rather than a robust and detailed vision for the future of the EU's security and defence (2004, p. 4-5) whereas Bailes emphasises its "inspirational function" with regards to policy-making (2005, p. 14). Whitman goes one step further and suggests that the ESS's doctrine is more targeted at "Europe feeling good about itself" rather than defining its power and role in the international system (Whitman, 2006, p. 8). Efforts have since been made to define the scope of CSDP and the EU as a global security actor more clearly, and to demarcate its role in relation to other international organisations, in particular NATO, as fears over duplication have been ripe ever since the EU acquired military capacities in a move to further develop from its role as a civilian or, as some argue, normative power to global crisis manager. In 2008, the 'Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy'

sought to reinforce its purpose and situate it within a changing security environment. Yet the CSDP and the ESS continued to be criticised for a lack of strategic vision, or poorly defined goals and hence both were often considered weak (Jegen and Merand , 2014, p. 388). Despite this, Rayroux draws attention to the potentially useful 'constructive ambiguity' the CSDP and ESS present (2014). Indeed, it has often been observed that Member States interpret them quite differently - Heisbourg noted diverging interpretations of the 'Petersberg' tasks and the subsequent 'Headline Goals' (2000) and Rayroux pointed to the many ambiguous concepts in the ESS, such as "effective multilateralism" or "preventative engagement" (2014, p. 388). He continued to argue that this vagueness can be construed as a vital strategy for the gradual Europeanisation of national foreign policies as it allows for a flexible interpretation that can be adapted by Member States to fit with existing interests and policies through presenting CSDP as a natural continuation of these (*ibid*, p. 392), thus circumventing pressures to make far-reaching changes or compromises. When applying this idea to the concept of strategic narratives, however, this vagueness is somewhat problematic as it is likely to reinforce the *status quo* (*ibid*, p. 401) rather than provide an alternative explanation of the international system. This suggests that the idea of loosely interpreting the ESS and implementing the CSDP as and when Member states see fit, is not enough to foster a truly common European approach. In light of this, Biscop and Andersson thus conclude that it is only the Member States' political will that can transform the EU from a "mere global actor" to an "effective global power" (2008, p. 20). While the ESS was a first step towards creating a more defined EU security identity, it fell short of creating narratives strong enough to facilitate such change.

The EUGS – An Insecure Europe in an Unstable World?

Calls for a new security strategy had been ripe when the prospective HR/VP Mogherini announced her intent to reflect on the EU's Security Strategy in 2014. Since 2003, not only had significant changes occurred with regards to security challenges, the situation of the EU itself had also altered, making the security system as predictably unpredictable (EUGS, p. 46). Obviously, these opening sentences highlight the vastly different context in which the two strategic documents were drafted. The ESS had a fairly narrow focus laying out the EU's approach to security in the lead-up to the 2004 EU enlargement which signalled continued wide-spread support for European integration. The EUGS on the other hand is a much broader (and longer) policy document conveying a strategic approach to security that incorporates all of the EU's foreign policy tools at a time when the EU faced multiple existential crises, both internal and external (p. 7). As Grevi points out, the ESS reflected a "confident Europe projecting stability and values upon others in a relatively benign international environment" (2016, p. 3). While the EUGS continued to build on the strategic direction from 2003, it was less focused on the EU being a normative power abroad. Instead, it was much more concerned with its own internal credibility struggles which is evident from the emphasis placed on pursuing citizens' interests and security concerns. Grevi demonstrates that the words interest and citizens occurred over thirty times in the EUGS, a document of approximately 15,000 words, compared with just three mentions in the ESS which is about 4200 words long (*ibid*, p. 3). In addition to reaffirming the need for EU security cooperation to overcome current crises and protect citizens' interests, the Global Strategy also called for greater 'strategic autonomy', thus asking Member States to push for more security cooperation and integration. Conley cautions that any such efforts are impeded by "serious leadership and resource challenges" (2016, p. 13). This ambition to

be a more active security actor is accompanied by a more pragmatic and concrete approach to dealing with an ever more complex international system which in turn leaves little room for the 'constructive ambiguity' (Heisbourg, 2000) that was present in the ESS. While the EUGS' purpose in these uncertain times was clearly laid out, the extent to which it will be implemented by Member States remains to be seen.

In this context, 'Interests' were also referred more frequently than previously was the case. This strengthened pursuit of 'our interests' represents a considerable change in the EU's narrative concerning its position in the international system. It is an interesting development, especially when considering Davies and Johns' claim that missions whose objective it is to defend national interests are more widely supported than those with a purely humanitarian purpose (quoted in Ringsmose and Børgesen, 2011, p. 513). It can be argued that this signifies somewhat of a move away from being concerned with projecting values and norms externally to help achieve a more secure EU, to a more inward-looking approach which tries to create cohesion within the Union to overcome internal conflicts. However, external security threats also played a substantial role in the EUGS. While the new Strategy was preceded by a separate, detailed strategic assessment exercise focusing on current threats and delivering a "diagnosis that precedes the prognosis" (Tocci, 2016, p. 464), the EUGS reiterated the necessity for Member States to work together more closely, and to make EU security and defence cooperation the norm in the face of an international system significantly different from that of the early 2000s.

The Bigger Picture: The EU's Place in the International System

In its pursuit of being perceived as a key security player whose security and defence policy is worth pursuing and fully implementing by its Member States, the EU employs strategic narratives to situate itself as a key actor within a wider international system. As Roselle *et al*. point out, "international system narratives describe how the world is structured, who the players are, and how it works" (Roselle *et al*., 2014, p. 76) and therefore provide their target audience with the necessary background to make sense of an actor's role and identity in a unified, coherent manner.

The ESS and EUGS are key documents that attempt to purvey narratives explaining the global order and with the help of content analysis, the following key theme was identified as an international system narrative (*Figure 7*):

1) The international system is increasingly complex - acting alone is no longer an option

The following sub-themes were also covered:

a) From security threats to priorities: The common and complex challenges for Europe

b) The EU's relationship with other international actors such as NATO

FIGURE 6 - INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

The Changing Nature of Security Threats

Establishing common threat perceptions is one of the key goals in order to deepen EU security cooperation and integration. They often vary considerably from country to country and Meyer argues that these perceptions are shaped by conflicting societal and political

values and norms, communication of hostile intent and an actor's potential to cause harm (2005, p. 533). The ESS thus sought to clearly set out what the EU perceived to be the main security concerns affecting Europe at the start of the 21st century:

- Terrorism
- Weapons of mass destruction
- Regional conflicts
- State failure
- Organised crime

While Andersson and Biscop rightly argue that the ESS did not rank or prioritise these threats due to the considerable divergences regarding threat perceptions amongst Member States (2008, p. 169), it comes as no surprise that this strategy, having been written in the aftermath of 9/11 and the launch of the 'war on terror', mentioned threats from terrorism most frequently. The other threats however were all referred to relatively evenly within the document as can be seen in *Table 4* below.

TABLE 4 – THREATS MENTIONED IN THE ESS

Terrorism (also: terrorist, Taliban, Al Qaeda)	20
Weapons of mass destruction (also: WMD, weapons, proliferation)	13
Organised crime	12
State failure (also: weak/ failing states)	11
Regional conflicts (also: (in)stability, insecurity)	9

Source: The European Security Strategy

The ESS mentioned the Middle East most prominently when referring to problematic regions (five times) and on another four occasions Afghanistan was mentioned specifically while the wider Mediterranean was alluded to three times. This was followed by the Balkans and Africa which were discussed six times. While all these threats were discussed in their own right, the ESS placed emphasis on the notion that they are all interconnected and often occur together, with the most frightening scenario being terrorist groups coming into possession of weapons of mass destruction.

Securing the EU's immediate neighbourhood was a key priority, yet the ESS pointed out that security had changed from constituting primarily territorial defence during the Cold War, to a situation where "the first line of defence" often lies abroad (p. 7). Haine argues that this statement implied a "projection of power, soft and hard, that Europe was not used to" up until this point (in Biscop and Andersson, 2008, p. 21). The Strategy also stated that aggression towards any individual Member State was highly unlikely and that threats had become "more diverse, less visible and less predictable" (p. 3). This is further underlined by the ESS acknowledging that lines between internal and external threats were increasingly blurred (p. 2). Despite the Strategy not using the term 'human security' as such, there was certainly an emphasis on providing humanitarian assistance in a time when the nature of conflicts was mostly intra-state and therefore frequently to the detriment of the civilian population. Furthermore, the ESS situated these security concerns in a wider context by framing poverty as the major root cause of many of the world's conflicts and wars and alluding to the likeliness of (future) conflicts over resources, all of which have a direct or indirect impact on the EU (p. 3).

By highlighting the increasingly complex nature of security threats, the ESS constructed an international system narrative which implied that the best way of dealing with these multifaceted problems was through increasingly cooperating on security and defence at EU level, as they required comprehensive responses that Member States could not provide on their own.

Thirteen years on from the EU's first Security Strategy, the EUGS outlined "terrorism, hybrid threats, economic volatility, climate change and energy insecurity" as key issues for the EU and its citizens (p. 9). With regards to problematic regions, it specifically referred to security threats from Russia, terrorism and violence in North Africa, the Middle East and also within Europe (p. 7). However, the EUGS was not purely a security strategy, it encompassed all aspects of foreign policy. By defining security threats in a wider context and taking their root causes into account, the approach taken in the EUGS represented a much more holistic view of security issues and how to tackle them. There was less emphasis on explicitly spelling out the EU's key threats as was the case in the ESS. This was partially because it was preceded by a strategic assessment exercise entitled "The European Union in a changing global environment" which contained a considerable focus on threats. Instead, the Global Strategy was structured around five priorities:

- The Security of the Union
- State and Societal Resilience to our East and South
- An Integrated Approach to Conflicts and Crises
- Cooperative Regional Orders
- Global Governance for the 21st Century

Threats that were addressed separately under the "Security of the Union" priority were terrorism, cyber security and energy security. Unlike the ESS, the EUGS went into some detail regarding how it envisaged tackling these issues. It suggested that living up to the EU's values internally and externally (p. 21) as well as better engagement with the various actors and organisations involved in the conflict was the best way forward. Furthermore, the EU sought a more differentiated approach to conflict resolution and increased 'local ownership', thus also suggesting that the EU's transformative or normative power may have been overestimated in the past.

The EU's Multilateralist Approach to Security and Defence

'Effective multilateralism' has been a core principle of the EU's wider foreign policy, and expanding cooperation with other international actors has always been on the EU's security and defence agenda (Council of the European Union: 9; Biscop and Andersson, 2008; Jørgensen, 2009, Kissack, 2010; Koops, 2011). Some of the EU's key ambitions as a multilateral actor can be broken down into its relationship with the US and NATO as well as with the United Nations. These are discussed below.

At the time of drafting the ESS, Member States' approaches to providing security varied significantly, such as a more 'Atlanticist' outlook in the United Kingdom, 'Europeanist' interpretations in France and neutral approaches in Austria and Sweden. France, for example, has had somewhat of a "love-hate relationship" with NATO (Rayroux, 2014, p. 390) and withdrew from NATO's integrated military command structures in 1966 before re-joining in 2009. Some argue that France had wanted to shift its focus from NATO and a US-dominated alliance to a more Europe-centric security outlook. The move to re-join the

military command is, by some, interpreted as France's recognition that the EU is not (yet) able to adequately deal with security and defence issues (Irondelle, 2008). The United Kingdom on the other hand has continued to favour close transatlantic ties (Howorth, 2006, p. 217), evident in its decision to join the US-led coalition which invaded Iraq in 2003. It sees the CSDP as a tool only to be used in situations where the United States chooses not to get involved (Biehl quoted in Howorth, 2014). This, Biscop and Andersson concluded, had until then rendered the drafting of a security strategy "politically unfeasible" (2008, p. 1). Despite these differences, the ESS presented the EU as deeply embedded in a multilateral system with its transatlantic ties and the United Nations Charter at the centre. Moreover, it stated that states were no longer able to deal with security threats on their own (p. 1) with cooperation the only way forward.

In terms of cooperation with other international actors, the EU's transatlantic links featured most prominently. The ESS alluded to the role of the US in the European integration process and reiterated its dominant position as a military actor (p. 1), subsequently declaring the pursuit of an 'effective and balanced' relationship with the United States a necessity. While it pointed out that this partnership had the potential to be a "formidable force for good" (p. 13), it failed to specify the envisaged nature of this partnership (Biscop and Andersson, 2008, p. 168). Despite a lack of detail, there is little doubt that one of the main purposes of the ESS was to (re-)create cohesion between the EU and the US (Ojanen, 2006, p. 19) as well as within the EU after the rift caused by the differing outlooks on Iraq (Biscop and Anderson, 2008, p. 172).

The ESS's focus on multilateral cooperation frames the EU as a global security actor wanting to cooperate (primarily with the US) to be a 'force for good' by operating within the

parameters of the UN Charter and with a focus on supporting the work of the UN, thus presenting an attractive model for the rest of the world to copy. But when analysing the EU's approach to multilateralism in the ESS, it becomes obvious that there was a lack of consensus amongst Member States with regards to the level of autonomy the EU should strive for as an international actor and in its relationships with other actors (namely the US and NATO). The resulting vagueness regarding the EU's relationship with other actors most likely facilitated Member State buy-in for the ESS, but it also posed a major impediment to an efficient and coherent implementation of the CSDP (Dassu and Menotti , 2005, p. 107).

The EUGS on the other hand included a number of new security concepts that were not present in the ESS, namely the idea of "strategic autonomy" and the notion of the EU securing first and foremost its own borders and immediate neighbourhood rather than dealing with out-of-area conflicts. As Grevi remarks "there is a marked shift in emphasis from crisis management interventions abroad towards protecting Europe against both external threats and those spanning frontiers, such as terrorism and hybrid threats" (2016, p. 5). Despite not being explicitly stated in the ESS, up until then Europe's territorial defence had been considered to be within NATO's rather than the EU's remit. While the Strategy acknowledged that NATO remained the "bedrock" of Euro-Atlantic security (p. 36), the EUGS suggested that the "EU should also be able to assist in protecting its Members upon their request" (p. 19). Furthermore, it called for the EU to develop 'strategic autonomy' in order to be able to tackle both internal and external security issues. When asked in an interview what the term meant, Tocci defined strategic autonomy as "the ability of the Union to decide autonomously and have the means to act upon its decisions. While it ought not to be confined to the military domain, it is evident that it is in this area that the EU's strategic autonomy has not yet been realised" (Tocci, 2016, p. 3).

While it did not specify how this new autonomy would shape the EU's approach to multilateralism, the Strategy designated a "sustainable, innovative and competitive European defence industry" (p. 45) as a key component of obtaining a greater level of autonomy. This call for greater independence in security matters was balanced with a continued emphasis on working with key international actors. The longstanding transatlantic partnership with the US was described as a core component of the EU's international relations and one that the EU seeks to deepen further by pursuing further cooperation on issues such as cyber security, trade, crisis management, counter-terrorism, migration and energy and climate action (p. 37).

The EU and NATO

There is no doubt that NATO has been the most important security organisation for the majority of European countries for decades. It is a vital component of the EU's multilateral approach to security provision, yet with the development of independent military capabilities, questions arose regarding how the EU and NATO would go forwards in dealing with security threats. In the ESS, NATO was described as one expression of the EU's strong transatlantic link and while working with NATO was mentioned on several occasions (usually in tandem with the US and other international organisations) and permanent agreements such as Berlin Plus were alluded to, no further details were provided regarding the nature of future of EU-NATO cooperation. This is somewhat surprising as HR Solana was eager for the Europeanisation of military activities and a more visible EU role (Barros-Garcia, 2007). A more clearly defined EU-NATO relationship would have alleviated widespread fears over duplication and confusion over the role of the CSDP in relation to NATO, which, until then,

had been the main security provider in terms of hard power and military interventions in Europe (*ibid*, p. 12).

Due to the above-mentioned uncertainty over their respective remits in the ESS, the EU's relationship with NATO was discussed much more frequently in the EUGS. Having had to face persistent worries regarding duplication of efforts between itself and NATO, the EU needed to define its relationship with the organisation more clearly to justify its continued push for increased EU security and defence cooperation. The Global Strategy was less vague about EU-NATO relations and described it as the "strongest and most effective military alliance in the world" (p. 37). Furthermore, it argued that the EU should develop into a security actor that is capable of sharing, or at times, taking over responsibility for defending its Member States (p. 19). This links in with the other new priorities in the EUGS, namely a more inward-looking approach and the pursuit of strategic autonomy, aiming to establish a more balanced relationship with NATO.

The EU's Relationship with Other International Actors

The UN Charter forms a key reference point for all actions taken by the EU, thus providing a framework for security provision, as well as legitimacy. Indeed, some experts were of the opinion that the UN played an active part in shaping an EU identity during the ESS drafting process (Biscop and Andersson, 2008, p. 46). While the ESS sought to strengthen the UN's activities, it also reflected the limited timeframes the EU envisioned for crisis management missions, as evidenced by the length of the first EU military missions lasting three months (Artemis) and nine months (Concordia) respectively. This lack of long-term strategic vision

and differences in organisational cultures and interests have, at times, caused frictions between the EU and the UN (Koops, 2012, p. 15).

According to the EUGS, the UN remains the "bedrock of the multilateral rules-based order" that the EU ascribed to (p. 10). In addition to reinforcing its support for UN activities and subscribing to the idea of global governance anchored in the UN Charter, the EUGS envisions a more prominent role for the EU which will see, "the EU[…] strengthen its voice and acquire greater visibility and cohesion" (p. 40).

Other key international actors, in particular Russia, were also referred to in the security strategies. Whereas the ESS stated that the EU recognised the importance of working on improving relations (p. 14) to be able to deal with global security issues effectively, the EUGS was less ambitious in this respect: recent developments, such as Russia's annexation of Crimea, are reflected in the EU's approach, limiting cooperation to "if and when interests overlap" (p. 34). Moreover, whilst acknowledging that the EU and Russia are interdependent, the EU views the management of this relationship as one of its key strategic challenges (p. 33). Being a much more detailed document, the EUGS also addresses its vision for cooperation with other regions and emerging powers as well as interacting with a variety of actors such as international organisations, civil society, and local communities in line with its goal of supporting cooperative regional orders (p. 32).

Analysing both the ESS' and the EUGS' contents in terms of international system narratives has been insightful, especially with the added dimension of comparing narratives over a span of thirteen years. This examination has shown that while the EU's narratives regarding its international relations have overall remained consistent, they have been adapted or expanded in response to changes in the international system. The key narrative running

through both strategic documents is therefore that security cooperation at EU level is the best response in a changed and continuously evolving security environment. An increasingly complex web of security threats which affect all Member States requires responses that no state can provide on their own. While the ESS seemed to take a reactive approach to security threats, the EUGS is somewhat more proactive in seeking to tackle the causes of these threats in a more comprehensive manner. A consistent theme is that of the EU being deeply embedded in a multilateral, rules-based framework of global governance defined by the United Nations. With regards to the EU's key partners, the ESS concentrated on the EU's transatlantic partnership with the United States. The EUGS continued to value this partnership, but also elaborated much more on the EU's relationships with a of variety international actors and stressed its ambition to achieve strategic autonomy, thus also displaying more assertive and independent behaviour in its international relations.

The ESS sought to outline the EU's strategic vision as a global security actor in 2003 and achieved this in a somewhat tentative and vague manner. The EUGS on the other hand tried to incorporate lessons learned from more than a dozen years of EU security and defence policy resulting in a much more pragmatic approach that is reflected in emphasising the EU's vital interests over ambitions to be a 'power for good' in the world. Biscop argues that the EUGS' "principled pragmatism" indicates a move towards Realpolitik in the original sense of the term (2016, p. 1). When comparing the level of ambition in the EUSS and EUGS, it becomes obvious that the EUGS takes a more modest approach, having become aware of its own limitations due to requiring consensus from all 28 Member States and the complexity of today's security threats. Whether the EUGS has the power to generate greater cooperation amongst Member States leading to the EU becoming a stronger and more cohesive security actor remains to be seen, especially in a climate where doubts over the

very future of the Union have become rife and a considerable number of Member States appear keen to 're-nationalise' policy making. With the first ever EU exit negotiations commencing in 2017, it is also to be expected that Member States may become preoccupied with these rather than heeding to the EU's renewed call for increased security cooperation.

Notions of European Identity in the EU's Security Strategies

Analysing the content of the ESS and EUGS in relation to the EU's attempts at creating a shared European identity through projecting the EU's values and norms as an international actor both externally and internally forms a key component of this thesis. The idea that security practitioners develop a sense of European integration identity through their work and thus potentially play a vital role in making the implementation of the CSDP more efficient is the main hypothesis of this study. While only minor differences and additions were noted between the international system narratives projected in the ESS and those in the EUGS, the EU's projection of its identity seems to have undergone more substantial change.

The ESS was the first strategic document that attempted to define the EU's international strategy as a security actor. Having been penned shortly after the Invasion of Iraq in 2003, it was supposed to overcome the intra-European rift caused by the military operation as well as to distinguish the EU's approach to security and defence from that of the United States (Meyer, 2005, p. 541). While it had the potential to be a key document for outlining the EU's identity as a security provider, its focus seemed to be on the EU's threat perceptions and little was said about the EU's identity, i.e. the values and norms that shape the Common Security and Defence Policy as summed up by Biscop *et al*. who argue that "the issue is that

the ESS is incomplete in terms of objectives, because to start with it is not clear about the values and interests to be defended" (2009, p. 9). However, while little is said about the EU's values and interests, one identity-shaping aspect which was included in the ESS was the premise that "the world was going in [the EU's] direction, and it was up to [the EU] to shape the world, […] to remake the world in [its] image" (Tocci interview). This reflects the idea of the EU being a normative power, a model which other countries strive to emulate. Exporting 'European' norms and values as a means to creating a more secure world builds on the EU's status as a soft power, but also somewhat impeded its newly-acquired ability to utilise military power in line with the CSDP.

With more than a decade passing between the adoption of the ESS and the launch of the EU's Global Strategy, it is not surprising to find that key identity narratives have developed and changed significantly. One of the biggest differences between the two strategic documents is the circumstances they were written in. While the ESS was penned in the context of significant EU expansion and integration, the setting for the EUGS was somewhat different. Not only has the EU's model of integration become less attractive to many external actors (Coelmont, 2012, p. 1), the EU is also experiencing substantial internal struggles questioning its existence and future direction. This apprehension on behalf of the Member States is reflected in the reception of the two documents. While the ESS was formally adopted by the European Council, the EUGS was not. Instead, it was 'welcomed' by the Council and largely overshadowed by the Brexit referendum result from the day before.

In response to these rather different circumstances, the EUGS was a lot more explicit about the EU's identity. Indeed, some argue that it attempted to "restore the fundamentals of the European project itself, by providing for our security, the original *raison d'être* of the

project, for it to be able to achieve all its other objectives" (Coelmont, 2016, p. 9). Furthermore, the Strategy not only acknowledged the need to foster more internal coherence, but also recognised that to be a credible global power, its behaviour needed to be in line with its strategy (Biscop *et al*., 2009, p. 20) and identity.

Conducting a content analysis of both documents revealed two key narratives – one concerning the EU's changing external identity as a global security actor, and the other projecting the EU as an internally cohesive organisation as shown in *Figure 8* below. While these overarching themes can be found in both strategies, their interpretations have evolved considerably in the period spanning the ESS and the EUGS.

1) The EU's expanding role as a security actor: from soft power to comprehensive actor guided by principled pragmatism

2) Europe's 'common values and interests' require further integration of security and defence

FIGURE 7 - THE EU'S IDENTITY NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

The EU's Expanding Role as a Security Actor

The creation of the CSDP represented a momentous occasion for the EU. For the first time, EU Member States agreed to act jointly in the field of security and defence by adopting a European Security Strategy, which, Meyer argues, denoted a "departure in strategic thinking for the NATO-oriented countries, who had previously resisted giving the EU a strong role in security and defence (the UK), as well as for those pacific and self-defence- minded countries (Germany, Austria, Sweden), who had difficulties in signing up to a more activist use of force for the purpose of counteracting threats and defending human rights" (Meyer, 2005, p. 538/9).

As security and defence policy had been decided within national settings until this point, it is important to consider these domestic contexts with regards to Member States' approaches to

interpreting this new role and identity for the EU. With the imminent EU enlargement by 10 new Member States, the creation of the CSDP and the adoption of the ESS signified a significant step towards increased cooperation, especially considering countries which had previously shown a strong preference for neutrality and a very restricted use of force (such as Finland) or indeed held the view that military intervention was a last resort that was to be avoided at all costs (Germany) (*ibid*, p. 529), ratified this new dimension to European security and defence provision.

Considering these very different strategic starting points, finding a common basis for the type of actor the EU wanted to become was crucial. Yet, the ESS was void of clear references to the type of actor it wanted to project itself to be and instead only alluded to inevitably being a "global player" due to its size and economic clout (p. 1).

As Ringsmose and Børgesen point out in their model of measuring strategic narratives surrounding the use of force in military missions, "different national audiences with different values and different historical experiences (regarding the use of military power) might react differently to the same type of strategic narrative" (2011, p. 513). In this case, however, the ESS's weak definition of the EU's power not only encouraged different interpretations of the CSDP, it also failed to provide a coherent and consistent sense-making framework for Member States (other than their existing national ones). In the absence of such an alternative sense-making mechanism at EU level, many scholars therefore argue that increasing levels of cooperation and a European strategic vision have a noticeable but less drastic impact on Member States' understandings of security and defence. Instead of creating a distinct European identity, the result is, scholars argue, that a "national 'weness' [is increasingly being enmeshed] with a 'European' dimension (or layer), thus contributing to redefining national discourses of foreign and security policies" instead of encouraging the creation of a European security culture (Gariup, 2009; Milzow, 2012; Rogers, 2009; Waever, and Larsen, 2013). Whether this is the case amongst CSDP practitioners is explored in the next chapter.

The EU – No Longer Just a Soft Power?

The question over the kind of actor the EU seeks to project itself to be and what it actually represents also play a significant role in determining the EU's identity as a security provider. While the ESS remained rather vague about the EU's power, it was written not long after the establishment of the CSDP, which marked an important turning point in this respect. Up until this point, the EU's involvement in international affairs had been limited to that of a civilian power with no military tools at its disposal. Many argued that the EU's approach distinguished it from other states and organisations as a unique global actor that employed only non-coercive means in its interactions with other actors.

The ESS marked a significant move towards making the use of force a viable option for the EU's security and defence policy. Yet, Martin suggests that despite the inclusion of military means in the EU's foreign policy, which might be seen as "a negation of the precise nature of the EU as an international actor", the EU continued to shun "'hard security" in favour of a more nuanced use of its armoury" (2007, p. 5). The final wording of the ESS continued to give strong preference to using non-coercive tools when tackling non-territorial security threats. Indeed, the ESS stated that "spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order" (ESS, 2003, p. 10). Moreover, when stating its strategic objectives, the ESS referred to the defence of its security and the promotion of its values in the same sentence (p. 6), underlining how the two goals seemingly go hand in hand. This approach is one of the reasons why the EU has been called a 'normative power' that not only aims to export its social model to other parts of the world to protect its own security, but also considers it a moral obligation to do so (see e.g. Manners, Solana). Furthermore, this term implies that the EU's values and social norms are seen to be worth aspiring to by non-EU countries and thus hold a degree of power over them. The ESS suggested that the EU, in collaboration with the US, can thus act as a "formidable

force for good in the world" (ESS, p. 13).

The EUGS showed that a strong focus on a soft power approach to eradicating the root causes of security threats remained, as highlighted by Mogherini's foreword: "The European Union has always prided itself on its soft power – and it will keep doing so, because we are the best in this field" (EUGS, p. 4). Continuing to make use of its wide range of non-coercive foreign policy tools remained a key priority for the EU as emphasised further on in the Strategy, where the EU's civilian power is alluded to as an identity-shaping "trademark" (EUGS, p. 47) that needs to be developed further.

However, the EUGS moves away from the idea that other countries seek to emulate the EU's norms and values and adopts a more pragmatic stance. Instead, the EUGS clearly strove for Member States to "live up to the values that have inspired [the EU's] creation and development" (EUGS, p. 15) and in this way lead by example rather than pushing its norms on others. The EU's vision of generating resilience among neighbouring states instead of asserting its normative power abroad (Howorth, 2016, p. 25), would offer the "strongest antidote we have against violent extremism" (EUGS, p. 21). Furthermore, the EUGS suggested that as the EU's model is clearly not attractive to all international actors, it is vital to employ varied and situation-specific approaches and seek "reciprocal inspiration from different regional experiences" (EUGS, p. 32) as well as more long-term engagement and working with a wide range of actors to protect the EU's interests. This indicates a much more differentiated and modest approach in line with lessons learnt from past missions and operations.

However, the new Strategy was also a lot more explicit about how relying solely on soft power is "not enough in this fragile world" (p. 44), and clearly advocated the use of hard

power, should the situation require: “For Europe, soft and hard power go hand in hand” (EUGS, p. 4). While the provision of security remained the key focus of the EUGS, this reiteration of the EU’s willingness to exert hard power was also accompanied by a renewed call to further develop the EU’s defence capabilities through increasing defence expenditure and defence research as a means to enhancing the EU’s credibility as a hard power (EUGS, p. 44).

Another new term introduced by the EUGS in relation to the EU’s role in global affairs is ‘strategic autonomy’. Howorth argues that it is one of the key phrases of the whole Global Strategy, appearing more than seven times within the document (2016, p. 25). While the Strategy went to great lengths laying out its commitment to multilateralism and the importance of fostering relationships with many different states, institutions, and regional actors, it also emphasised the need to become a more independent actor. It is argued that to “promote peace and security within and beyond its borders” (EUGS, p. 9), more autonomy was required. Moreover, the ability to protect European values and interests was also linked to achieving greater independence (EUGS, p. 4). However, the concept requires careful consideration as it was not clearly defined in the Strategy. The *International Spectator*, in an interview with Tocci, sums up this change in narrative from a “reactive, limited and generally securitised approach” relying largely on the EU’s transatlantic ties in the ESS to envisaging an “independent leadership role for Europe in the world” (2016, p. 8). While the request for a more autonomous role for the EU seemed to respond to changing threat perceptions and reflected lessons learnt from the previous thirteen years of CSDP implementation, the suggestion of an ‘independent leadership role’ somewhat exaggerated the EU’s ambitions presented in the EUGS, which at other times talks about more modest

ambitions. However, this highlights the need to further elaborate on the meaning of 'strategic autonomy' if it is to be useful as a security and defence concept for the EU.

The EU as the Epitome of Common European Values and Interests?

Lucarelli and Manners believe that common values are a key component for constructing a European identity (in Kaina al., 2015, p. 59). While the promotion of 'European values' was described as an overarching objective for the ESS, it was only mentioned three times in the ESS. Furthermore, whereas Article 2 in the EU Treaty spells out what the EU believes to be its core values, it wasn't until 2007 and Article 21, §1 in the Lisbon Treaty that these were clearly linked to the EU's security and defence policy: "The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law".

As Coelmont points out, not explicitly linking values and norms to its strategic vision resulted in the ESS failing to communicate adequately the reasons for a bigger role for the EU as a security and defence provider (2012, p. 4). Ringsmose and Børgesen explain that "if a given strategic narrative fails to present an unequivocal explanation of the overall objective […], the public will be left in bewilderment and without a credible conceptual framework for rationalising and interpreting events" (2011, p. 513). Without elucidating the EU's identity as a security actor, shifting security practitioners' focus from a national setting to the European level is problematic. The extent to which security practitioners recognise these values as European and see them as framework for validating EU security and defence cooperation and integration is explored in the next chapter.

The EUGS went into a lot more detail regarding the EU's role as a security provider and the type of power it wanted to be. Moreover, it was also much more unambiguous about emphasising the pursuit of the EU's common interests and values rather than wanting to export its model of governance to the rest of the world. Indeed, the term 'values' was referred to more than twenty times and 'European values' were clearly defined on a number of occasions. At one point, a specific link was made between "staying true to our values" and identity (p. 15). Furthermore, the EUGS suggested that there was a strong link between its values and interests, almost going so far as to suggest that the two terms could be used interchangeably: The EU's "fundamental values are embedded in our interests. Peace and security, prosperity, democracy and a rules-based global order are the vital interests underpinning our external action" (EUGS p. 13) and guiding the EU in "this difficult, more connected, contested and complex world" (*ibid*). The EUGS also acknowledged, however, that despite these seemingly common values and interests, "joining all our cultures together to achieve our shared goals and serve our common interests is a daily challenge, but it is also our greatest strength: diversity is what makes us strong", herein reiterating the EU's official motto (p. 4).

By repeatedly linking the EU's security and defence ambitions to the protection of European citizens' interests and values, the Strategy sought to create a sense of common purpose and direction amongst its audience. It did so by tying these interests to the need to create a stronger Union that facilitates closer cooperation, and more specifically, increasing security and defence cooperation as the only way to ensure their protection: "We need a stronger Europe. This is what our citizens deserve, this is what the wider world expects" (EUGS, p. 13). However, the new Strategy also recognised the danger stemming from internal divisions within the EU and the negative effect these had on its credibility externally. It did

so on the one hand by reiterating the need to live up to the EU's values internally to be a credible international actor (p. 15) and on the other by suggesting that interests within Europe are shared and that "there is no clash between national and European interests" […] and reiterating that "Our shared interests can only be served by standing and acting together" (p. 16). While the purpose of this statement is clear, it represents a rather frail identity narrative as its credibility is somewhat weakened by its context which is marked by increased internal conflicts in the EU. Recent crises have highlighted that while values may continue to be shared, interests amongst Member States are somewhat diverging, suggesting a return to more nationalistic interpretations of the security environment (e.g. van Ham, 2016, Tocci 2016). Subsequently, such a framing of harmony between national and European interests is somewhat unconvincing and incapable of sufficiently tying together recent security and defence-related developments in an explanatory framework (see Antoniades, O'Loughlin, and Miskimmon 2010, p. 5). While the EUGS attempted to refocus Member States' approaches to security and defence cooperation by alluding to the EU's founding values and linking these to its current interests, it failed to explicitly suggest how to overcome this internal identity crisis.

Principled Pragmatism as the EU's New Guiding Principle

While the idea of creating resilience as one of the EU's new key priorities will be discussed in the next chapter, it forms part of what has been coined 'principled pragmatism' in the EUGS. This new approach to conducting foreign affairs is a key narrative within the Global Strategy and while its meaning was not defined at great length in the EUGS itself, Tocci contends that the concept attempted to overcome the "sterile debate on 'interests versus values'" (2016, p. 6). Furthermore, she suggests that it asked us to "observe the world (and ourselves) as it is, not as we would like to

see it. We must be more modest at times in what we believe we can achieve and what we cannot" (2016, p. 6).

In a way, the notion of 'principled pragmatism' acted as an overarching identity narrative that attempted to make sense of the key priorities presented in the EUGS. By suggesting a more modest and differentiated approach to implementing the EU's foreign policy, it also paved the way for a more inward-looking vision that concentrated on the security of the EU itself (combining internal and external security) and somewhat limited the EU's focus on its neighbourhood. Howorth sums up that "where the ESS was bold, confident and even occasionally hubristic, the EUGS is realistic, modest and constructive" (2016, p. 25). This modesty also puts into perspective the kind of power that the EU holds in the international system as Tocci emphasises that the EU's actions should occur "without the illusion that we can unilaterally bring peace, security, democracy or prosperity to the world. Not only is this an illusion, it is also a dangerous one" (2016, p. 6). Furthermore, a pragmatic approach to foreign affairs also explains the EU's renewed emphasis on using hard power as a legitimate tool to implement security and defence decisions as it highlights the centrality of protecting European values and interests over being merely a 'force for good' in the world.

To sum up, it can be said that the ESS did not contain any identity narratives that were comprehensive enough to convey a compelling framework for security practitioners to develop a common European approach to providing security and defence. The ESS sought to project an external EU identity centred around its newly gained role as a security provider characterised by having an extensive range of civilian and military tools at its disposal, thus rendering it a unique power within the international system. Furthermore, it attempted to

create a sense of shared European identity by alluding to common values that shape the EU's CSDP.

While identity narratives within the EUGS revealed some weaknesses in terms of definition and coherence, it seems that the notion of 'principled pragmatism' has the potential to tie them together and thus shape the EU's security and defence identity in the years ahead. However, as pointed out by many scholars, the EUGS unfortunately went largely unnoticed outside the EU's security and defence community due to the timing of its publication a few days after the Brexit referendum, thus making it difficult to predict the extent to which it will be given the required attention from Member States, especially in light of the recent internal upheaval caused by Brexit (the fall-out of which remains unclear, in particular its effect on other Member State's attitudes towards European integration) and other crises. However, despite all these internal problems, a 2016 Pew Survey indicated – somewhat counter-intuitively - that foreign policy at EU level remained one of the least politically contentious policy areas for Europeans, with 74% keen for the EU to engage more in world affairs (2016, p. 8). This suggests that the implementation of the CSDP remains a policy area that might see an increase in cooperation. Security practitioners' views on this and their reception of these EU identity narratives are explored in the next chapter.

The CSDP as the Best Tool to Protect Europe's Security

Issue narratives make up the last part of this study and in this particular case analysis focuses on strategic narratives surrounding the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy. As Roselle *et al*. state, issue narratives provide context to governmental actions, describe the conflict or issue and explain how they resolve a certain issue, thus creating legitimacy

for the policy (2014, p. 76). While this is the most specific narrative level, it is also a very important one as these narratives attempt to convince their target audience that the CSDP is the best platform for dealing with a large number of current security and defence issues. This can only be achieved by closely linking CSDP narratives with those found at the other two levels, a common view of the international system and a sense of European identity implying shared interests, cultural norms, and values which enable joined and cohesive responses to security issues.

Strategic Narratives on CSDP in the ESS and EUGS

The ESS was written only four years after the signing of the Helsinki Headline Goal, which for the first time set out to add military capabilities to the EU's foreign policy 'toolbox'. Unlike its successor, the EUGS, this document focused solely on security and the Common Security and Defence Policy. As mentioned previously, the Strategy was written in part as a response to America's National Security Strategy and a number of large-scale terrorist attacks. However, one of its main purposes was also to clearly outline the advantages of increasingly conducting security and defence at EU level.

The EUGS developed the EU's strategic vision using a much wider approach, thus not only covering the CSDP, but also other foreign policy-related issues. However, further developing security and defence was a "matter of urgency" (EUGS, p. 10) and was discussed in detail in this much more comprehensive document. While there was some continuity in terms of themes from the ESS, such as the emphasis on multilateralism being the only way forward in security provision as well the centrality of the EU's 'comprehensive approach', there were also a number of new CSDP narratives in relation. The EUGS communicated a strategic

vision shaped by 'principled pragmatism' and 'strategic autonomy' as well as a strong focus on creating 'resilience' through its foreign policy. These new additions, Coelmont argues, constituted the core of the Strategy (2016, p. 10).

When analysing the content of the ESS and EUGS, two key strategic narratives explaining the role and purpose of the CSDP stood out:

1) **EU security and defence cooperation as the best way to adapt to a changing security environment and respond to ever more complex security threats**
   a) The practical advantages of EU cooperation
   b) The EU's Comprehensive Approach
2) **Establishing a common European security culture is important to improve security provision in Europe**

FIGURE 8 - THE EU'S POLICY NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

Cooperation as the Only Way Forward

While an emphasis on cooperation both within the EU and externally was also found to be one of the key international system narratives, the focus here however is on how the EU communicates the importance of the practical aspects of implementing the CSDP to its practitioners rather than solely considering the overarching idea of an 'ever closer Union'.

The ESS openly declared that "we are stronger when we act together" (2003, p. 13). However, this statement was made at a time when the EU comprised just 15 Member States, structures that had been put into place to implement the CSDP were still in their infancy and much improvement in terms of coherence and consistency was required. In fact, even five years after the adoption of the ESS, Biscop and Andersson argued that

> All the EU Member States and individual EU institutions pay lip service to the principle of coherence to improve coordination and avoid duplication of the EU's external activities. The truth of the matter is that no Member State or institution has ever been prepared to give up completely its own role in the field. (2008, p. 125)

While the ESS signified a significant step towards a more coherent EU (*ibid*, p. 137), calling for better coordination of EU level policy-making, it did not go into significant detail how this would be achieved. The Strategy set out the EU's objective to streamline its efforts by 'pooling and sharing' resources and capabilities between Member States as well as EU institutions including common threat assessments, intelligence sharing and better diplomatic communication (2003, p. 12). Furthermore, the ESS listed tools for responding to individual threats such as using a "mixture of intelligence, police, judicial, military and other means" to deal with terrorism (ESS, p. 7), but apart from stating that "the European Union is particularly well equipped to respond to such multi-faceted situations" (*ibid*, p. 7), failed to explain why and how exactly the EU was a particularly capable security provider in these scenarios. Indeed, while the target audience may be familiar with their particular Member State's strengths and capabilities, they are less likely to be aware of the instruments made available to the EU by the Member States and the possible impact of further 'pooling and sharing'. Here, the ESS briefly mentioned potential benefits by suggesting that the "systematic use of pooled and shared assets would reduce duplications, overheads and, in the medium-term, increase capabilities" (ESS, p. 12).

Despite not offering detailed information on the implementation of these objectives, the ESS did provide context regarding the benefits of cooperation by describing successful past and ongoing cooperation at EU level, referring to the EU's response to 9/11, anti-

proliferation policies and interventions in regional conflicts (ESS, p. 6). By alluding to previous successes, the Strategy attempted to go beyond expressing the need for increased cooperation, suggesting this is a continuation of a successful trend in international relations which adds a vital dimension to Member States' own responses to security threats. Whether the CSDP is perceived to be a successful policy by security practitioners is explored during the interview analysis in the next chapter.

Strongly situated in a time marked by numerous crises and upheaval, the EUGS continued to stress the need for more solidarity and mutual assistance when it comes to EU security: "In a more complex world of global power shifts and power diffusion, the EU must stand united. Forging unity as Europeans – across institutions, states and peoples – has never been so vital nor so urgent" (p. 16). It argued that cooperation between Member States needed to become more structured, with defence cooperation in particular "becom[ing] the norm" (EUGS, p. 11). The EUGS projected the need to 'stand united' not only by claiming that it was important for external credibility, but by relating increased cooperation directly to the "security, prosperity and democracy" of EU citizens themselves (p. 8), once more displaying a much more internal focus. Powerful language was used to deliver this message: "Our shared interests can *only* be served by standing and acting together. *Only* the combined weight of a true union has the potential" to achieve this (p. 16).

Dealing with a Changed/Changing Security Environment

Adapting to a changed and continuously evolving security environment is one of the key challenges the EU faces. Since the end of the Cold War, Europe's armed forces have been undergoing major changes, not just in terms of the role they play and the tasks they

undertake, but also in relation to defence spending and downsizing. As Howorth remarks, by the time the ESS had been written, European forces had decreased in size by 43% since the end of the Cold War to approximately 4.9 million (Howorth, 2014, p. 82). The decreased emphasis on territorial defence brought with it the need to develop a new focus. As Kaldor *et al*. point out the EU, especially the European Commission, has thus developed a key discourse around the concept of human security and conflict prevention (2007, p. 277). They define the idea as "the security of individuals and communities, expressed as both 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'" (*ibid*, p. 273). While the concept of human security was not explicitly referred to in the ESS, it is clear from the amount of times that words such as 'civilian' (8), 'human' (3) and 'humanitarian' (3) were referred to in this context, that one of the EU's key narratives regarding the CSDP was its usefulness for providing human security. Furthermore, it placed emphasis on conflict prevention as the best way to stop crises from escalating (ESS, p. 7). By focusing on the pursuit of human security, the ESS promoted a wider definition that also addressed "poverty, development, social injustice, aid, trade, arms control and governance" (*ibid*, p. 277), thus tying it in with the EU's perceived strength of being a civilian power and the EU's 'comprehensive approach'.

While certain threats and security requirements remained constant during the time between the ESS and EUGS, some other far-reaching developments occurred in those years. Most European governments had to further reduce their defence spending, resulting in smaller armed forces. In addition to these logistical changes, the EU's neighbourhood also became less stable. Russia's annexation of Crimea and its ongoing conflict with Ukraine has brought instability onto the EU's doorstep and put many Baltic countries on edge.

Furthermore, many European countries feel threatened by the influx of refugees from the Middle East and Africa. The EUGS contained several key changes in response to this changing security environment which are reflected in the Strategy. The opening lines entail references to instabilities in the EU's immediate neighbourhood and an acknowledgement of how internal and external security are becoming increasingly intertwined (p. 7). Furthermore, whereas the ESS had largely avoided discussing defence, the EUGS envisioned a greater role for the EU regarding the defence of its own borders. While the CSDP had previously been concerned solely with providing security externally, the new Strategy refocused EU security and defence to also include internal issues, i.e. suggesting it could support border protection missions (p. 20). These developments indicate that the EUGS not only continued to project itself as a security actor able to respond to a changing security environment, but also highlighted its ambitions to take on a bigger role as a security provider.

The EU's Comprehensive Approach

The term 'comprehensive approach' has been frequently used in the EU's security and defence policy discourse and has thus become a defining component of CSDP narrative. It singled out the EU as a uniquely equipped international actor which has at its disposal many (mainly non-coercive) tools enabling it to respond to security and defence issues comprehensively. The EU defines this approach as "the strategically coherent use of EU tools and instruments" (EU Commission, 13). While the term 'comprehensive approach' was not used in the ESS, it was referred to indirectly on numerous occasions. When the ESS was developed, the addition of military capabilities to the EU's range of foreign policy

implementation instruments was still a recent innovation. The ESS therefore tried to foster a coherent approach to combining different tools by linking it to the demands of a rather changed and constantly evolving security environment. Here, the Strategy explained how security threats such as terrorism and regional conflicts are best tackled using both civilian and military measures (ESS, p. 7). NATO had previously been the sole international organisation providing using military capabilities to secure Europe, hence this addition to EU security and defence implementation required strategic rethinking on the part of EU Member States. The ESS thus focused on the EU's perceived key tasks of conflict prevention and crisis management. Here, it alluded to the weaknesses of past interventions where "military efficiency has been followed by civilian chaos" (ESS, p. 12) arguing that greater coherence when employing military and civilian tools is key in the EU's attempt to establish itself as a successful security provider. The ESS does however not provide any practical suggestions that go beyond the 'pooling and sharing' of resources and capabilities.

The EUGS continued the promotion of a comprehensive approach to security and defence provision and sought to expand its meaning and scope (p. 9) to incorporate a "multi-phased", "multilevel" and "multilateral" method of dealing with conflicts, summing it up as engaging in a "practical and principled way in peacebuilding" (p. 28). While the EUGS continued to encourage the 'normalisation' of cooperation on security and defence matters and joined-up actions between Member States, this expansion of the EU's comprehensive approach was closely tied to a number of new key concepts.

EU Security and Defence Provision Steered by Principled Pragmatism

The EUGS declared that external action would be guided by 'principled pragmatism' in the years to come, thus "charting the way between the Scylla of isolationism and the Charybdis of rash interventionism" (p. 16). Adopting this notion implies a more modest and realist approach to providing security and defence which is justified by "emphasising our own security, the neighbourhood, and hard power" and much less focus on spreading democracy (Biscop, 2016). This new approach manifested itself in a number of ways. Firstly, the EUGS specifically addressed the 'defence' component of the CSDP, which went largely unacknowledged in the ESS. The Strategy communicates the "indispensability of a credible military instrument" (*ibid*, p. 3) to "deter, respond to, and protect ourselves against external threats", independently of NATO if necessary (p. 19). Furthermore, it advocated the expansion of EU defence spending and research and making full use of the EDA's potential (p. 21). With regards to conflict prevention and crisis management, it suggested a much more 'tailor-made' approach with strong emphasis on working with a wide range of international partners at all levels of society.

Creating Resilience

Resilience was one of the key concepts of the EUGS and, as a result, is mentioned more than forty times in the fifty-one-page document. It is defined as "the ability of states and societies to reform, thus withstanding and recovering from internal and external crises" (p. 23) which is reflected in their societies feeling like they are "better off and hav[ing] hope for the future" (p. 26). Tocci, who was put in charge of formulating the EUGS notes that pursuing resilience enables the EU to move beyond the "perennial dichotomy of democracy

versus stability" (Ulgen, 2016, p. 46). The Strategy discussed the term resilience by strongly tying it to internal benefits as well as contributing to a safer world externally: "The EU will foster the resilience of its democracies, and live up to the values that have inspired its creation and development" (p. 15) by respecting "domestic, European and international law across all spheres, from migration and asylum to energy, counter-terrorism and trade" (p. 16). This strong focus on safeguarding European values and interests, which underpins all aspects of the EUGS, was also reflected in the EU's approach to facilitating resilient states abroad: "It is in the interests of our citizens to invest in the resilience of states and societies to the east stretching into Central Asia, and to the south down to Central Africa" as well as regions beyond those covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy (p. 9).

The Strategy clearly spelled out how the EU envisaged to achieve resilience externally. On the one hand, it believed the EU continued to hold a degree of normative power, or "power of attraction" as it is referred to in the EUGS (p. 25), which can encourage transformation, on the other it seeks to tackle "the most acute cases of governmental, economic, societal and climate/energy fragility, as well as develop more effective migration policies for Europe and its partners" (*ibid*). In addition, the EUGS promoted a strategic vision of prompt (and, if necessary, long term) action to prevent conflict, and facilitating locally owned agreements rather than imposing European models as well as working not only with national institutions, but ones representing all levels of society (p. 24). The EUGS also placed emphasis on adopting a "multifaceted" and "tailor-made" approach to fostering resilience (p. 25) which linked in with the notion of 'principled pragmatism' and stressed the importance of its comprehensive approach through "joined-up" actions (p. 26).

Conclusion to Chapter 7 Section a)

While the ESS attempted to justify the establishment of the CSDP and the need to increase security and defence cooperation at EU level, it fell short of providing sufficient practical, more concrete steps towards achieving greater strategic coherence through adopting a comprehensive approach.

In 2006, Howorth interpreted the establishment of the CSDP in quite a positive light, pointing out that a shift from

> British Atlanticism, French exceptionalism and German pacifism towards a common acceptance of integrated European interventionism, based not solely on the classical stakes of national interest, but also on far more idealistic motivations such as humanitarianism and ethics produced a new normative paradigm into international relations. (p. 213)

However, a recently published analysis of the security goals of these three European countries, who have the highest defence spending in the EU, suggested that their level of commitment to the CSDP remained very low and their interests "out of step with those of the EU as a whole" (Chappell, *et al*., 2016, p. 208), thus representing a significant barrier to strategic coherence at EU level. This gloomy assessment made so many years after the adoption of the ESS highlights the biggest problem of CSDP implementation – a lack of political will at national level to fully implement the policy and increase cooperation at EU level. It also suggests that little progress has been made in terms of creating a common strategic vision for the EU.

The EUGS presented a much more coherent and consistent narrative framework for its latest strategic vision. The narratives relating to the need for increased cooperation to

tackle security threats adequately, actions guided by principled pragmatism and the emphasis on fostering resilience as the overarching driving narratives behind CSPD implementation are neatly linked together and closely tied to a strong internal focus on safeguarding European citizens' interests and values. By appealing to the audience's core values (Ringsmose and Børgesen, 2011, p. 512), the EUGS tried to communicate an explanatory framework for CSDP implementation and further European integration, thus attempting to respond to the EU's current internal climate which is marked by a lack of internal unity. However, political will remains the stumbling block for closer security and defence cooperation and the extent to which these narratives resonate with security practitioners is therefore explored in the next chapter.

Section b): Observing and Analysing the Content of ESDC-Coordinated Training Courses

While the two Strategies provide the EU's official strategic vision for its security and defence, the training courses coordinated by the ESDC provided an opportunity to observe how the EU's security and defence narratives are projected in a more practical, yet structured and somewhat regulated setting. This study involved observing six training courses, so cannot make any claims or indeed generalisations regarding the overall coherence and standardisation of training curricula. Yet, some observations from training courses attended during the data collection phase provide an insight into the ESDC's activities and what CSDP training looks like in practice. Of the courses observed, three were Orientation Courses (the most common/popular training coordinated by the ESDC), one High Level Course Module (one of the College's 'flagship courses') and two Military Erasmus Courses. Observations were focused on the course content and the extent to which the

standardised curricula were adhered to by the selected presenters, the variety of speakers (national and EU staff, military and civilian) and more informal aspects such as the atmosphere between participants and presenters as well as opportunities provided for informal networking.

When examining the projection of strategic narratives, it is important to consider *who* is communicating. While there is little doubt about who the authors of the two Strategies were, the nature of the ESDC with its network structure and the selection of speakers by the individual course organisers means that there is a larger degree of variation in terms of who communicates and what is projected by these individuals. From observations and the course outlines, it is evident that while the core curriculum is adhered to, there was often a higher ratio of speakers with a national background compared to representatives from EU institutions as summarised in the chart (*Figure 9*) below.

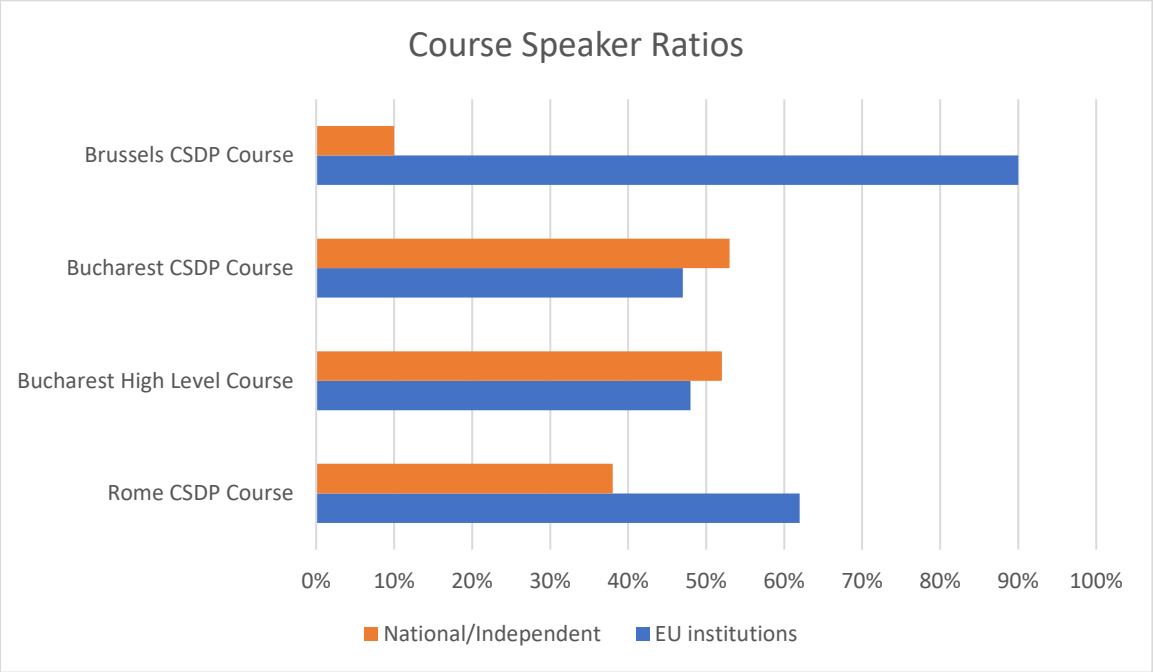

FIGURE 9 - COURSE SPEAKER RATIOS Source: Researcher's own data

CSDP Orientation Courses

First of all, it has to be noted that despite having a prescribed core curriculum, these training courses are run by national members of the ESDC. Thus, all three training sessions were conducted slightly differently, and their content differed to a certain extent, giving each one a 'local flavour'.

The Brussels course was, for the first time, a joint session for (mostly new) EUMS and EU HQ staff and participants from MS combining content from two courses, namely the Orientation Course and "CSDP Foundation Training for EU HQ". This meant that the audience was larger than normal with over 70 participants, which, on the one hand, provided more networking opportunities, but at the same time made formal group discussions and individual participation more difficult. The course benefitted from subject experts being readily available due to its location and meant that participants largely received an 'insider's view' of CSDP processes. Furthermore, course attendees' EU experiences were enriched through a visit to the European Parliament.

The Orientation Course in Bucharest had quite a different flavour. It was hosted by the Romanian National College of Home Affairs and approximately half of the 41 participants were Romanian staff responsible mainly for internal affairs while the other half was made up of representatives from Member States and EU institutions. The hosting institution's focus on internal affairs was reflected in the course content, which at times appeared to differ significantly from the suggested curriculum and the topics outlined in the course schedule. Furthermore, logistical limitations (i.e. budget, location, etc.) resulted in a selection of speakers largely from within Romania. Participants felt this provided them with a somewhat national interpretation of CSDP processes (quote from course participants),

which some considered to be a valuable contribution by providing an alternative to a more EU-centric approach, while others felt it was too focused on Romanian internal affairs. Furthermore, on occasion speakers completely abandoned the topic they were meant to talk about and instead focused on a subject of their choosing (mainly Romanian issues). While this was certainly of value to the Romanian participants, a number of other Europeans noted that some of the content was not relevant to them and created a bit of a barrier between locals and foreigners (Interviewee 31, German).

The third Orientation Course that formed part of this study took place in Rome and was hosted by the Italian Ministry of Defence and the Centre for Defence Higher Studies. 46 participants from a range of different Member States were present. There seemed to be more of a balance between local and international attendees as well as presenters than was the case in Romania. One of the presentations which was especially well-received was that of Dr Tocci who gave a briefing on the drafting of the latest Global Strategy for the EU. It appeared that insights from academics were much appreciated at this course as well as the one in Brussels as they provided a different angle on implementation issues.

High Level Course - Module 2

The High-Level Course is a modular course, hosted by four different countries and taking place over the duration of a year. The first module had taken place a few months prior in Brussels and offered a high level introduction to the CSDP. Module 2 took place in Bucharest during the data collection period. This course was also hosted by the Romanian National College of Home Affairs and was attended by 63 high-ranking Member State representatives and EU officials. Participants were largely from other EU Member States with only a small

number of Romanian attendees. In terms of content, this course faced similar issues to the Orientation Course. While there was more balance with regards to national and international speakers, presentations from Romanian speakers had a noticeable national slant and at times veered off topic quite considerably. Furthermore, the (only) scheduled syndicate work that had been planned for Day 4 of the module was cancelled on the spot due to insufficient preparation and explanation, much to the dismay of the participants, who felt discussing critical issues in groups was one of the main reasons for attending the course. An excursion to experience Romanian sea border forces in action was well received. However, logistical problems further added to a level of dissatisfaction among the participants.

EMILYO Common Modules

The Military Erasmus courses are offered by several European military academies, with Austria being a major contributor. The two modules that form part of this study were provided by the Theresian military Academy in Wiener Neustadt and were attended by officer cadets attending the Academy as part of their international semester and ones visiting only to attend a specific course. Staff from the academy ran both modules.

While all other training courses that form part of this study were focused specifically on CSDP and the EU institutions and mechanisms involved in its implementation, the 'Military Erasmus' courses did not set out to directly provide CSDP-specific training, but instead aimed to create a more coherent officer education across Europe and thereby more EU-minded staff by offering joint training in Military English and the Law of Armed Conflicts. This is an important aspect to consider when evaluating the course content and its impact

on perceptions of the EU's role in security and defence. It was however somewhat surprising that explicit references to CSDP or EU involvement in security and defence were not made during the courses. In fact, at one point during the Law of Armed Conflicts course, when international security actors were discussed, the EU was the only one not mentioned with regards to involvement by European countries. Instead, NATO was referred to frequently, especially with regards to international standards and cooperation. However, specific modules on CSDP for officer cadets are offered several times per year to provide them with basic knowledge of the policy. It therefore seems this initiative takes more of an indirect approach by widening young officers' horizons about Europe and the EU in a less formal way. The strength of common modules for officer cadets lies in normalising exposure to and collaboration with fellow European military staff from the beginning of an officer's career.

Are Narratives Communicated Successfully to CSDP Practitioners during ESDC Training Courses?

One of the main interview questions regarding the communication of narratives was what the interviewees felt were key messages that they were taking away from the training course. This question was asked without any prompts to avoid interviewer bias and to receive responses that reflected participants' impressions of what the key points of the course were to them. Interview data shows that this approach resulted in a wide range of responses ranging from feedback statements about the course itself, personal gains such as better English knowledge and successful networking. Out of the 60 interviews, 44 contained direct responses to the question (others either indicated that they didn't know whether they were taking away any key messages or the question was not asked). One particular response stood out as it directly contradicted the study's hypothesis that training courses

are a platform for the projection of narratives: “I don't know if I'll take away any message. […] I don't expect a message as such to be transmitted by the ESDC. That would be quite difficult, I suppose all Member States have their own views on CSDP which they will follow up when they get back to Brussels” (Interviewee 33, Irish). Not only was the respondent sceptical about whether it was actually possible for the EU to communicate any messages through the course, they also emphasised the perceived superiority of national interpretations of CSDP over EU discourse, even amongst those located in Brussels. While this was the only response that explicitly questioned the EU’s ability to transmit key messages this way, it alludes to the centrality of participants’ expectations regarding course content and benefit to them as opposed to the power of the EU as a narrator.

The majority of participants’ responses could be divided into the following categories as shown in *Table 5* below:

TABLE 5 - CATEGORISED KEY MESSAGES TAKEN AWAY FROM TRAINING

International system: relations with NATO, the EU as a global actor, threats, multilateralism	15%
European identity: EU vs. national interests, values	28%
CSDP-related: comprehensive approach, civ-mil. relations, financing	26%
Personal gains: networking, better knowledge of EU processes, English skills, going abroad	18%
Course feedback	13%

Source: Researcher’s own data

With regards to messages taken away regarding the international system, the most common response was that the course had reminded participants that the CSDP is still a “work in progress” and “far from reaching its full potential” (Interviewee 8, Denmark) while others put into question to the EUs ambitions as a security actor. One interviewee even felt less

convinced of the EU's power as a security provider after the training course than before (Interviewee 27, Spanish). Other respondents felt that the training and working in an international environment had underlined the need for increased cooperation within the EU, but also with external partners, NATO in particular, in order to achieve the EU's ambitions as an international security actor: "It has taught me that the only way to survive is to work together in this part of the world. You can no longer afford to go solo" (Interviewee 49, Netherlands). While many emphasised that they were supportive of a stronger role in conflict management for the EU, one participant suggested that this partnership would eventually result in a 'European army'. The idea of a European army was brought up on numerous occasions. Often, its meaning was not clearly defined by interviewees, but many felt that the EU would not truly be a security actor without it as highlighted by a German officer-in-training who was of the opinion that "we won't be able to solve problems without a European army" (Interviewee 15, German). The idea of establishing a European army continues to be brought up by politicians on a regular basis (i.e. Juncker in 2015; Orban and Sobotka, 2016; Macron and Merkel in 2018), and seems to be supported by a considerable number of study participants on the grounds that it would be more cost-effective and give the EU more independence from NATO and the US.

A shift towards a more inward-looking interpretation of the CSDP as described in the latest Global Strategy can also be detected amongst interviewees as illustrated by one from Slovakia:" First we need to have security amongst ourselves. We need to understand how to protect ourselves because now [our situation] is dangerous" (Interviewee 25, Slovakia). The refugee crisis and the situation in Ukraine was discussed by the majority of respondents and many of them highlighted how the EU should focus more on security issues on its own borders and in its neighbourhood: "The Eastern problems, the economic problems, the

refugee problems. The EU has to be prepared for anything at any time" (Interviewee 13, Lithuania). An interviewee from Slovakia believed that these more tangible threats would result in the EU trying to strengthen its engagement within its neighbourhood (Interviewee 50, Slovakian). In terms of the CSDP training having an impact on participants' views, one respondent stated that "for instance, taking into consideration the current situation which we now have in Europe, the migration influx, the situation in the Mediterranean, the crisis on our Eastern border, this course has given a lot when it comes to CSDP and the issues which we should be able to do within our common policies" (Interviewee 4, Finnish). Another practitioner pointed out that "the biggest learning point is the need and the drive to link defence subjects to all the other aspects of the EU - the integration of both. That's also the hard part, but it's our strength. Human rights with economic power and defence. That's the real value" (Interviewee 49, Netherlands).

It seems course participants did not refer much to the EU and its position in the international system when discussing perceived key messages. When considering the coding categories above, it becomes apparent that a narrower focus, around questions over EU and national interests as well as specific issues regarding the implementation of the CSDP, seemed to play more heavily on practitioners' minds.

(Mis-) Communicating the CSDP During Training Courses

CSDP training offers an important platform for communicating key strategic narratives and to ensure consistency with regards to training content, the ESDC has standardised its core courses. However, as these are run by the individual member institutions of the ESDC, adherence to agreed topics and their delivery very much depends on who these institutions

select to present the subject matter. Here, perceptions of the training courses differed quite considerably. While the 'common modules' that formed part of an officer's education were generally not a topic of discussion during the interviews due to them being embedded into a structured course, the more ad-hoc nature of CSDP training courses on the other hand was frequently criticised during the interviews. Many interviewees felt that presenters did not adhere to the curriculum, instead either putting their own national slant on certain topics, or lecturing about completely different topics altogether, as illustrated by this comment: "What I dislike most is […] they give us their view of the EU. I am not interested in a national view of the EU. I am interested in the EU as such because I already have my national views. It's the EU views I am interested in" (Interviewee 36, Austrian). Numerous security practitioners commented that this had had a significant impact not only on the messages they took away from the training course, but also on the overall impression they got from 'the EU'. As a result, a number of interviewees stated that the somewhat unsystematic nature of training delivery and the national interpretation of some topics was representative of the EU as a whole: "[the course] typifies the dysfunction of the EU and trying to organise 28 states. Some of the course has been well run and some bits have been awful and that's typical. Trying to coordinate 28 states for a common position is difficult at the best of times" (Interviewee 37, Irish). Another observation that a number of interviewees shared was that the delivery of the training course had revealed the shortcomings of CSDP implementation in a way that was not conducive to facilitating a more CSDP-focused approach amongst security practitioners: "I think this course will confirm my negative vision of EU in the future" (Interviewee 25, Slovakian) while another remarked : "I thought the [EU's] role was stronger, but after the course I am not so sure" (Interviewee 27, Spanish). One course participant even went so far as to say that the course had "reinforced

everything that is wrong about the EU" and called it "military tourism" (Interviewee 32, Ireland).

Training participants felt mostly positive about the EU's informal ways of communicating its strategic narratives. While one or two interviewees indicated that they felt bringing together civilian and military staff made it difficult to get debates going (Interviewee 44, Finnish), most other training participants saw this 'comprehensive' approach to CSDP training as beneficial: "I think having a joint course for military and civilian staff is also really helpful. Usually, those kinds of courses are not possible. There is often disagreement between the two 'camps'" (Interviewee 51, German). Another commented that "so far the most rewarding has been the possibility to interact with other course participants. People with different experiences talking about things you cannot find on the internet - personal experiences. That makes you think in a different way" (Interviewee 42, Swedish).

Furthermore, despite remarking that official networking opportunities were often sparse, course attendees felt the informal interactions with fellow participants allowed them to get a better understanding of EU security cooperation, but also with regards to developing their intercultural awareness: "I have a deeper understanding especially of the Romanians now. Seeing how they talk, react and learning about their identity" (Interviewee 31, German). These observations highlight the fact that narratives are not solely communicated through course content, but also the very nature of ESDC-coordinated training courses. By bringing together security practitioners with civilian and military backgrounds as well as from many different Member States, the EU indirectly projects its strategic narratives regarding its Common Security and Defence Policy. The positive impact of informal interactions amongst course participants underlines the importance of this indirect projection of the EU's

strategic narratives which not only facilitates the communication of CSDP narratives but ties together all narrative levels. Furthermore, it emphasises the importance of the individual in the process of narrative projection and reception. Not only are networking opportunities and informal interactions an indirect tool for communicating narratives, but personal experiences and anecdotes are also crucial in steering the reception of narratives.

Conclusion to Chapter 7 Section b)

Observing such a variety of courses aimed at civilian and military staff covering the whole spectrum of career stages provided a valuable and specific insight into the ESDC's efforts to help create a common security culture through training. It highlighted both the benefits and the challenges of joint training. While all courses succeeded in creating platforms for interaction and socialisation amongst European security and defence staff, the fact that training delivery largely remained the responsibility of Member States meant that it did not seem truly standardised and coherent. Furthermore, a clear distinction has to be made between specific training courses on CSDP issues and joint training initiatives such as the 'Military Erasmus'. While CSDP-related courses focused on overtly narrating CSDP to staff, the military student mobility scheme aimed at fostering a better understanding between European military personnel, an increasing willingness to collaborate on security and defence and, overall, a sense of solidarity. Yet, a combination of neither of the two modules specifically addressing EU security and defence, and an apparent general lack of knowledge regarding the EU's security and defence policy amongst officer cadets seems to suggest that an increase in awareness of the EU as a channel for security and defence collaboration was

not achieved through the scheme. Instead, other international organisations, specifically NATO, were much more present during the modules.

CHAPTER 8: Receiving EU Strategic Narratives

While the EU has taken significant steps towards forming narratives which provide a framework for understanding its pursuit of European security integration through the drafting of strategic documents such as the ESS and the EUGS as well as the creation of the ESDC, it is equally important to consider how these efforts are perceived by their target audiences, one of them being European security practitioners themselves. As Nye points out "what the target thinks is particularly important, and the targets matter as much as the agents" (Nye quoted in Roselle *et al.*, 2014, p. 75). Whereas the previous chapter investigated the EU's attempts at projecting strategic narratives with the aim of "explain[ing] the world and set[ting] constraints on the imaginable and actionable, and shape[ing] perceived interests" (*ibid*, p. 76), this chapter is devoted to examining how these are perceived by security practitioners participating in CSDP courses. Furthermore, empirical data is analysed to establish the extent to which the EU's narratives are contested in a European security setting that is governed by national decisions and has, at least until recently, predominantly been shaped by national interests and cooperation through NATO rather than EU channels.

The framework for analysis is the same as the one applied to the projection of strategic narratives and looks at the reception of narratives regarding the international system, the EU's identity as well as the CSDP specifically. The data used to shed light onto how these narratives are received comprises primary data collected through an online survey amongst security practitioners prior to participating in CSDP training as well as interviews with the same practitioners during and after the training courses which are coordinated by the ESDC. By combining these two types of data, both the effects of working on EU security and

defence on a daily basis and the direct impact of CSDP training were scrutinised. While data from the online survey conducted between September and November 2015 is used to establish the extent to which attitudes were congruous, distinctive from or indeed clashing with the narratives communicated through the EU's strategy documents, interview data from EU-level training between September and November 2015 was gathered to highlight how narratives are received by their target audience and whether they challenge individuals' existing understanding of security and defence.

As the analysis is structured around the three different levels of narrative, it is divided into three sections starting with **a) The EU in the International System according to Security Professionals**. This is an investigation of overarching views of European security and defence, which correspond to international system narratives. It then explores security practitioners' interpretations of the role and identity of the EU, its values and goals and the extent to which there is contestation between EU and national narratives in **b) Notions of European Identity amongst CSDP Staff**. This is followed by **c) Practitioners' Views of the CSDP and the Future of European Security and Defence***, which* is an examination of security practitioners' views of the EU's CSDP and its perceived usefulness for dealing with security and defence issues.

Section a) The EU in the International System according to Security Professionals

As the purpose of strategic narratives is to provide a framework for contextualising foreign policy developments in a manner that leads to the creation of common attitudes and opinions amongst their audiences (see Antoniades, O'Loughlin, and Miskimmon, 2010), this first section examines how European security practitioners viewed the EU in the international security environment prior to taking part in CSDP training. In addition to investigating the extent to which notions of the EU as a key multilateral security actor existed amongst study participants, it also considers whether EU level training courses convey the EU's international system narratives in a manner that shapes their way of making sense of international relations. As already noted, Ringsmose and Børgesen suggest that to be effective narratives have to "resonate with the intended audience's core values and advocate a persuasive cause-effect description that ties events together" (2011, p. 512). While core values are discussed in the next section dealing with identity narratives, this one seeks to understand the extent to which international system narratives were congruous with the way CSDP practitioners viewed the security system and attempts to determine how they were received during the CSDP training process.

Security Practitioners' Views of the International System Prior to Participation in CSDP Training

As security provision in the EU remains an intergovernmental undertaking with Member States retaining full sovereignty over their decision-making processes, it was not surprising that most security practitioners who participated in this study were employed by their governments to work on CSDP or seconded to the EU for limited periods of time, thus

operating mainly within a national context. The overwhelming majority of study participants (96%) were national civilian or military staff and only a small number, (eight out of 195 respondents) worked directly for the EU rather than represented their country in an EU setting. It was therefore important to establish how aware all of these individuals were of the EU's CSDP and its strategic vision. Furthermore, it was of interest to see whether views differed from those directly employed by an EU institution and those working for Member States. There were four survey questions which aimed to measure participants' awareness of the EU's security and defence policy, including one, which related to participants' understanding of NATO, thus providing an interesting comparison, as NATO is a very well-established security actor and as such is an organisation that many security practitioners may be more familiar with.

The most general question was aimed at establishing security practitioners' views on how the international system works and started by asking security practitioners to rate their understanding of EU political processes. While this question did not provide an insight into their views of the international system itself, it did give an indication of how engaged they were with EU procedures. Prior to launching the online survey, it was thought that knowledge of EU processes and, in particular CSDP and the ESS, would be fairly low as a large proportion of training participants were new to working on EU security and defence whereas a better understanding of NATO's role was anticipated due to its long-established role as a security organisation.

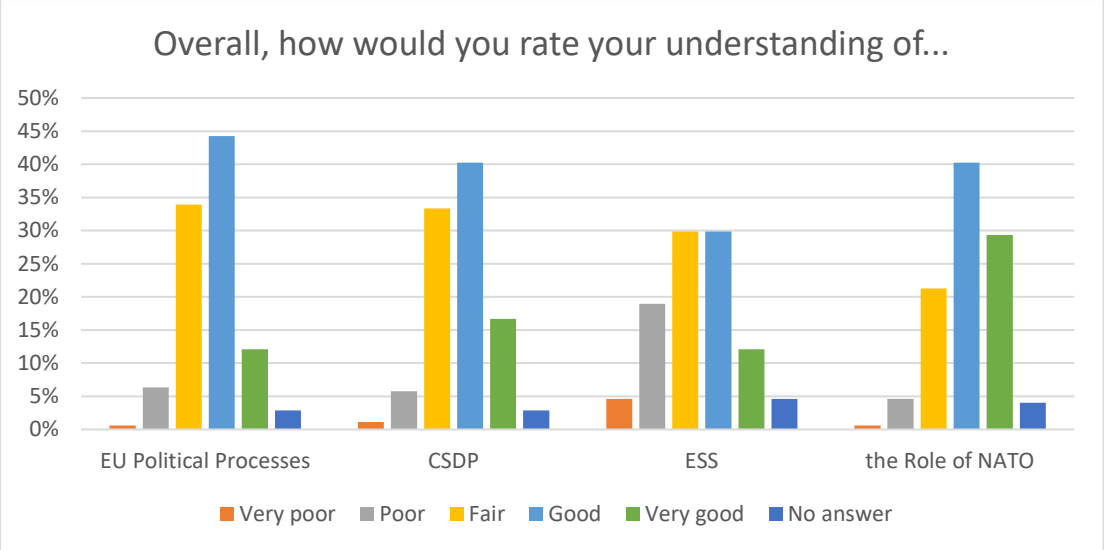

FIGURE 10 - UNDERSTANDING OF CSDP-RELATED MATTERS Source: Researcher's own data

As can be seen in *Figure 10* above, a slight majority of respondents indicated a good or very good understanding of EU processes (44% and 12% respectively), while 34% said their knowledge was fair and 7% believed it was poor or very poor (6% and 1% respectively). Considering the extent to which the EU is often criticised for being too complex and lacking transparency and therefore difficult to understand, this self-assessment by CSDP practitioners is in line with prior expectations.

With regards to their area of expertise being security and defence issues, the survey data showed that participants did not feel they understood the CSDP better than the EU's political processes in general as 40% and 17% respectively rated their knowledge as good or very good. The number of respondents specifying their understanding to be fair, poor or very poor is almost identical to those in the previous question, suggesting that at least prior to CSDP training little emphasis had been placed on gaining specific knowledge of the CSDP.

When asked about an even more specific aspect of EU security and defence, this lack of subject-specific knowledge was further underlined. Out of the four, understanding of the

European Security Strategy had the lowest positive scores with only 30% and 12% of participants respectively indicating their knowledge was good or very good. This is significantly lower than all other categories. Consequently, approximately one quarter of respondents indicated their understanding of the ESS to be poor or very poor (19% and 5 % respectively) while the proportion of respondents describing their understanding as fair was similar to the other two questions (at 30%).

Survey results show that CSDP practitioners felt they were most familiar with the role of NATO, as more than two-thirds stated their knowledge was good or very good (40% and 29% respectively). This was a significantly higher response than all EU-centred knowledge and not unexpected as cooperation through NATO and working within a NATO framework has been in place considerably longer than EU-level cooperation and a better understanding of its role, processes and purpose is thus more likely. Security practitioners' familiarity with NATO was further underlined by the fact that it ranked considerably higher despite - one in six survey respondents being from a non-NATO country- thus suggesting that knowledge of NATO processes is something that all European security practitioners share. This is further illustrated by the mean scores (5 = very good, 4 = good, 3 = fair, 2 = poor, 1 = very poor) in *Figure 11* below.

FIGURE 11 - UNDERSTANDING OF CSDP-RELATED MATTERS – MEAN VALUE

Source: Researcher's own data

When interpreting these findings, it is important to consider the setting of this study. As the researcher worked closely with the ESDC and thus indirectly also with the EU's Member States, it is likely that participants responded to some extent in a way that was socially desirable or made them look as competent as possible. As Donaldson and Grant-Vallone argue, this kind of bias is especially common in organisational behaviour studies as participants tend to believe that there is a chance that their institution might see their responses (2002, p. 247). While such a bias is not expected to have a significant impact on results, it is worth keeping in mind when evaluating findings.

1) The international system is increasingly complex - acting alone is no longer an option

Within these, the following themes were covered:

a) From security threats to priorities: The common and complex challenges for Europe

b) The EU's relationship with other international actors such as NATO

FIGURE 12 - THE EU'S INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

The EU's Priorities in a Changing Security System

In order to gain a better understanding of security practitioners' understanding of security and defence and the role that the EU plays as a security provider, survey respondents were asked to rate how important it is that their country:

- Protects its inhabitants and their interests using military force;
- Uses primarily non-coercive means to achieve peaceful relations with other states;
- Provides humanitarian assistance to the weak and vulnerable internationally; and,
- Cooperates with other states through international organisations such as the UN, NATO and the EU.

They were then asked the same question in relation to the EU. These questions were not asked in order to attempt to rank security and defence priorities, but rather to establish whether security practitioners perceived the EU's role as a security provider to be different from that of nation-states. Despite not expecting any considerable variations in ratings between national and EU priorities, a slight divergence of priorities was anticipated prior to conducting this research due to the assumption that the EU was generally perceived to be

primarily a soft power with a limited security role. The chart below (*Figure 13*) shows the priorities perceived to be 'very important' for the EU versus participants' countries.

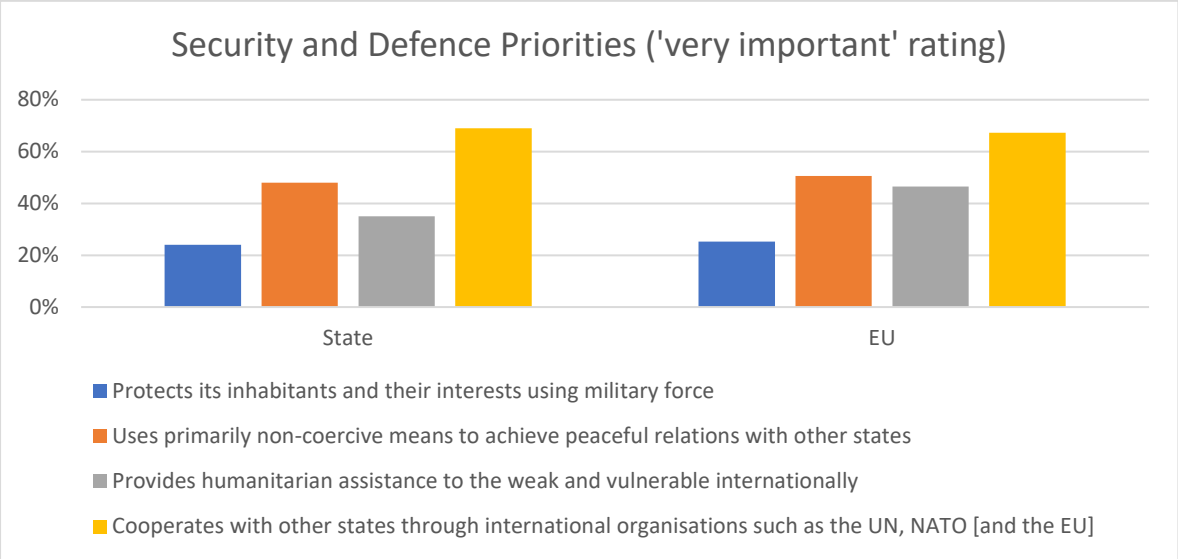

FIGURE 13 - SECURITY AND DEFENCE PRIORITIES: EU VS. STATE

Source: Researcher's own data

Survey results seem to confirm that the traditional focus of security on territorial defence, and in particular the use of military force, was no longer the main priority, receiving the lowest agglomerated 'important' score out of the four priority areas with 79%, consisting of 26% 'very important' and 53% 'important'. These ratings also reflect the changing nature of security threats, which nowadays often requires a comprehensive combination of military and civilian measures. When asked how important they felt it was that the EU protects its inhabitants using military force, a similar proportion of study participants deemed it important (28% very important and 52% important). When taking into consideration previous research and publications, it might seem somewhat surprising that security practitioners considered the use of military force to be as important for the EU as it is for their countries. However, it is important to note that this aspect of security provision also received significantly lower 'very important' scores than the other options. When comparing

responses for both national governments and the EU regarding the importance of using peaceful means and providing humanitarian assistance, it seems security practitioners saw the EU primarily as a security provider that focuses on using non-coercive means and offering humanitarian assistance. The extent to which such an interpretation of the data is warranted is discussed when analysing empirical data in relation to the extent to which the EU was perceived to be a useful tool for security provision and therefore a credible security actor later on in the analysis.

The second priority received corresponding results with regards to importance, which were significantly higher than the use of military force: 'Using non-coercive means to achieve peaceful relations with other states' was considered important by 84% of respondents (48% very important and 36% important). This figure was the same when asked about the EU (with a 51%/33% split). Furthermore, on both occasions it obtained the second highest 'very important' ratings, thus suggesting that security practitioners very much considered employing civilian measures as a key part of dealing with security threats in today's world.

Humanitarian assistance has been one of the key priorities for the EU since the launch of the CSDP in the early 2000s. While 79% of respondents declared it to be an important task for their national governments (35% very important and 44% important), the figures for the EU were 47% for 'very important' and 37% for 'important'. Considering the nature of the EU's engagement in missions and operations to date, the results indicate that providing humanitarian assistance internationally was perceived to be slightly more important for the EU than it was for the individual Member States. While a more pronounced difference may have been expected due to the fact that the majority of the CSDP missions have been civilian in nature, these findings suggest that humanitarian assistance has become a key aspect of security and defence provision.

Moreover, a multilateral approach to security and defence was crucial in the eyes of security practitioners. This is evident from the large number of 'important' ratings this question received both for national governments and the EU (91% and 89% respectively). This seems to suggest that there was a widespread understanding amongst CSDP practitioners that security and defence issues can no longer be tackled by individual countries and multilateral cooperation was a necessity for any organisation providing security.

Security Practitioners' Views on the Roles of the EU and NATO

The online survey clearly revealed that participants felt much more knowledgeable about the role of NATO than the EU and open-ended responses often included references to NATO being Europe's key security provider. This suggests that successful implementation of the CSDP hinges on the untangling of the remits of and the relationship between the EU and NATO. When interviewed about the EU's role as a security provider, and in particular its military capabilities, some practitioners indicated that they thought the EU had none or that it was not yet in a position to successfully engage militarily. However, numerous interviewees were of the opinion that it was not within the EU's remit to act as a military power at all. One interviewee, a military officer-in-training, described the EU's role as follows:

> I don't know how much [the] EU is acting as a security provider. I think NATO is much more effective. Quite a lot of countries in the EU are also in NATO. So NATO is the main thing. […] When I think about [the] EU, it's money, political decisions, borders, maybe human rights. When I think about NATO, everything is about the military,

about security. So I think the EU is not a main actor in security. (Interviewee 18, Lithuanian)

Another participant stated that “the EU is a gap filler in different fields of security that are not military” (Interviewee 1, Sweden).

Struggling to separate the functions of the EU and NATO was frequently alluded to, such as by a Romanian course participant: “The relationship between EU and NATO, differentiating between what they both do is difficult. It is part of the problem. It makes us react too late and causes other problems” (Interviewee 23, Romania). Other participants saw a clear distinction between their remits because they did not (yet) consider the EU to be a full security provider as evidenced by a statement from an interview participant from a country seeking EU membership: “The large majority of my citizens feel different about NATO and the EU. They see EU as a chance to live a decent life and to be better off. But NATO is separate. It's the security sector”. (Interview 22, Moldovan). This sentiment was also shared by a Spanish participant who stated that “We depend on NATO a lot. Hopefully in the future we can start doing smaller steps to create an independent military force in Europe. But right now, the missions are more oriented towards civilian work. The real military ones are NATO” (Interviewee 28, Spanish). A Swedish respondent had a similar view as they believed that “we will maybe see NATO become the military toolbox and the EU becoming, not softer, but another part of the toolbox” (Interviewee 42, Swedish). These opinions indicate that a strong focus on civilian work continued to dominate and that there was little acknowledgement of the EU’s military capabilities. The idea of allocating civilian tasks to the EU and military ones to NATO appeared to be a popular vision for the future of European security and defence.

Furthermore, results from this study showed that the relationship between NATO and the EU was a key issue when assessing support for further integration of EU security and defence. Whereas some course participants linked their reluctance towards further integration to ongoing frictions within the EU, many felt that EU-NATO relations were a problematic issue, suggesting that clearly defining each organisations' role was a major aspect of determining the future of CSDP: "I don't believe that there will be any dramatic change in the foreseeable future. Hard security is given by the Member States to NATO, but EU has learnt to support security of its Member States for quite practical and technical issues" (Interviewee 6, Finnish). Another interviewee had a similar vision for the EU having a somewhat subordinate role: "I think European security has to emerge gradually as a cooperation with NATO. Security arrangements are currently anchored in the transatlantic partnership and I think a lot of other countries agree with that" (Interviewee 8, Danish). Moreover, due to the perceived overlap and duplication of efforts between the EU and NATO, some security practitioners argued for a CSDP that focuses solely on civilian aspects of security as this was "an area where we can move much more freely" (Interviewee 23, Romanian). Many practitioners shared this view and agreed with the EU in so far that closer cooperation between the two was necessary to improve security and defence provision in Europe.

This continued perception of NATO being Europe's main security and only defence provider is a strong counter-narrative to the EU's focus on fostering a truly comprehensive approach that includes a credible military role for the EU. However, while the EUGS acknowledges this by stating that "when it comes to collective defence, NATO remains the primary framework for most Member States" (p. 20), it also advocates for the EU to take on a more active role.

The EU's Relationship with Other Global Actors

While many interviewees commented on a lack of clarity concerning the EU's relationship with NATO, many recognised the importance of working with other international actors when responding to global security threats. Indeed, for one interviewee this was one of the crucial conclusions from the training course "Here I agree with lecturers […]. We are not prepared on our own. To approach this, we need cooperation. Globally, we need to do this" (Interviewee 34, Spanish).

However, whereas many considered the EU to be a key actor in international affairs (albeit most often not in a military sense, only in a civilian capacity), others had a more modest view of the EU's role in the international system: "They [the EU] have a direct link to the USA. They are like a satellite of the US. The US is making their foreign policy. It all depends on the two major players in the world. US and Russia, everyone else is just a little fish, even NATO" (Interviewee 47, Slovakia). There seemed to be two main visions regarding the future of the transatlantic partnership – one purporting the continuation of a strong cooperation between the EU and the US and another seeking a more autonomous role.

While a strong emphasis on employing a multilateral approach with significant cooperation between the EU and the US is foreseen in the most recent EUGS, the Strategy also calls for more 'strategic autonomy' to better protect its own interests (p. 4). This autonomy is not explained in more detail, thus rendering future transatlantic developments somewhat vague. Some practitioners felt greater independence from NATO and the US was needed to deal with Europe's own security problems in an efficient manner. This was illustrated by a comment from Interviewee 36 (Austrian) referring to a map showing 'US responsibilities' in Europe during a training session: "We shouldn't let the Americans tell us where left and

right is. I don't need an American flag on my map, it's the EU. Of course, they are partners and friends, but where we are is the front". Another interviewee stated that "NATO means USA, USA leads NATO and it leads European countries. It would be better if Europe itself creates its own rules and security" (Interviewee 18, Lithuania). Others clearly believed that increased EU-NATO cooperation was the answer to solving ever more complex security issues: "Most Member States want to move closer to NATO. Possibly in time NATO will look after the hard power aspect in Europe and we would look after the soft power, like trade embargoes, development funds, etc." (Interviewee 33, Irish). A Dutch study participant suggested that:

> In future we should be more complementary to NATO. […] NATO is the number one security provider simply because it is an organisation where the US are fully involved and will remain fully involved. They are seen by many EU Member States as the umbrella for safety. Transatlantic ties are important and should never be cut, and in this vein the EU should be a stronger pillar within NATO and really step up to the plate with their spending. (Interviewee 41, Netherlands)

Conclusion to Chapter 8 Section a)

The EU communicates a vision of the international system as becoming ever more complex, thus requiring the deepening of security and defence cooperation internally as well as externally through a strong focus on multilateralism. Security practitioners who formed part of this study were overall aware of the advantages of working increasingly with European partners and other international partners, but they repeatedly pointed out that it was still up to the national governments to push for the implementation of the EU's ambitions.

Furthermore, despite the EU's promotion of a comprehensive approach to security provision, many believed that in order to avoid duplication and confusion, the EU should limit itself to civilian tasks and leave military missions up to NATO. This implies that overall security practitioners see the EU as a security provider in the international system, but not necessarily a defence provider.

Section b) Notions of European Identity amongst CSDP Staff

The content analysis of the ESS and EUGS discussed in the previous chapter revealed two key narratives communicating notions of European identity in relation to EU security and defence as shown in *Figure 14* below:

EU identity narratives in the ESS and EUGS:

1) The EU's expanding role as a security actor: from soft power to developing a comprehensive approach steered by principled pragmatism

2) Europe's common values and interests as the driving force to create a stronger Union

FIGURE 14- THE EU'S IDENTITY NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

In line with the narratives listed above, analysis of notions of identity amongst CSDP practitioners was conducted according to a number of themes which can be found below. These were derived from the theoretical framework used in this study and were also shaped by the definition of European integration identity developed as part of this thesis.

Investigating the emergence of a European integration identity:

1. Personal notions of European identity:
    a. 'European' values
    b. A sense of belonging and community with fellow Europeans
    c. European identity vs. national identity
2. The EU's external identity
    a) hard power/soft power/normative power?
    b) Perceived external perceptions of Europe/EU
    c) The role of 'the other'

3. Impact of receiving European identity narratives through CSDP training on views of European integration: positive perceptions vs. disillusionment
4. The impact of recent crises on notions of identity

While the majority of these were derived from the content analysis of the ESS and EUGS, a few themes also emerged during the survey and interview process, namely the impact of recent crises on interviewees' perceptions of European identity and the EU's efforts at communicating a European identity. The former was also mentioned occasionally during the survey, but due to a lack of open-ended questions, views on this could only be expressed minimally. The latter was added as the EU's ability, or lack thereof, to communicate a European identity during training was repeatedly brought up by interviewees. Findings from both the online survey and interviews provide an insight into whether a "strong collective identity" which goes beyond "general support for decisions being taken at EU level" (Kantner, 2006, p. 207) and towards a "shared ethical self-understanding which underpins the pursuit of common interests and collective projects" (*ibid*, p. 512) is developing amongst security practitioners as a result of working on CSDP matters and undergoing collective training.

Both the online surveys and the in-depth interviews contribute to the investigation of notions of European (integration) identity among training participants. On the one hand, analysing the results from the online survey conducted amongst security practitioners prior to participating in CSDP training sheds light on security practitioners' primary identifications as well as existing notions of European identity. Questions relating to notions of identity made up the largest part of the online survey and covered several different aspects. In addition to collecting contextual information regarding participants' experiences of training

and exchanges, questions captured respondents' overall identifications as well as whether they felt European identity existed, what such an identity consisted of and what it meant to be a European citizen. Furthermore, the survey investigated individuals' values and, if and how they corresponded to those that participants attributed to the EU. There were also two identity questions specifically relating to the role of security practitioners– one concerning uniforms displaying the European flag and another one asking participants about their views on the idea of a European army. In addition to these questions directly related to the concept of European identity, the survey also incorporated a number of questions regarding participants' motivations for choosing their current careers. While these investigated more personal notions of identity, the aim was to get an insight into whether military professionals, and also civil servants related to the notion of wanting to 'serve their nation' and whether this was accompanied by a strong attachment to their nation-states.

However, this research method only allowed limited explorations of notions of identity and since identity is a somewhat vague concept, and as such interpreted in many different ways, a qualitative look at what European identity meant to study participants was crucial. Subsequent in-depth interviews facilitated a more thorough exploration of CSDP practitioners' relationships with Europe and the EU. Furthermore, they honed in on what training participants took away from the training courses as key messages relating to notions of identity and explored if and how the EU's identity narratives were accepted or rejected by training participants.

While the narratives projected in the ESS and EUGS overlap somewhat, it is also evident that the EU's narration of identity has progressed and developed since the publication of the ESS. The 2015 study participants would not have been familiar with the then yet to be

published 2016 EUGS document at the time of data collection but may have been exposed to some of its content and rhetoric through their work or by participating in the courses. As such, it is only possible to evaluate how far security practitioners' views correspond to the strategic identity narratives projected in the EUGS rather than trying to measure their direct impact on practitioners.

An interview guide rather than a fixed set of interview questions was used to provide some structure to the interviews, but also allowing a degree of flexibility regarding the order and phrasing of identity-related questions, as well as providing opportunities to probe certain statements further. Due to the chosen approach to interviewing, the analysis follows coded themes rather than the exact interview questions, but an overview of identity-related questions is provided below.

A number of questions were aimed directly at further investigating notions of European identity, including whether interviewees could see themselves working for the EU rather than their country and whether they thought there was a distinctly 'European' way of approaching their work. Training participants were also asked whether there was a sense of community and shared values and interests at their work and the extent to which they felt this was important. They were also asked a very open question – "what does Europe mean to you", offering an opportunity to express their views and explore the extent to which they differentiated between Europe and the EU. This also allowed interviewees to voice their interpretation of the concept of European identity. Furthermore, interviewees were asked to comment on the impact of the training course, in particular regarding their feelings about the EU and further integration, as well as what key messages they were taking away. Additionally, one question that only members of the armed forces were asked was about

their personal attitudes towards 'serving their nation', as well as how they felt about 'making the ultimate sacrifice' and whether it mattered to them whom they risked their lives for.

(European) Identity amongst Survey Respondents Prior to CSDP Training

A key aspect of this study was to record CSDP practitioners' notions of identity prior to participating in ESDC-coordinated training courses with a view to establish existing identifications and views on Europe and the EU. While it is impossible to ascertain precisely how individuals arrived at their opinions and thus determine the exact impact of subsequent CSDP training, this exercise nevertheless provided a valuable assessment of how security practitioners, who have traditionally had strong ties to their nation-state as their employer, situated themselves within Europe and specifically the EU. Furthermore, examining participants' notions of identity prior to CSDP training provided a starting point for assessing the extent to which European identity narratives communicated during the courses were compatible with existing identity narratives, particularly national ones.

Personal Notions of European identity

As this study investigates notions of European integration identity, which is closely linked to the EU as an institution, survey questions centred on participants' understandings of what it means to be an EU citizen and what values they associated with the EU, whereas identification with Europe was explored in more detail during the in-depth interviews.

The first question (Question 30) directly examining participants' identities asked

respondents to indicate the extent to which they identified with the following: a region within their country; their country; Europe; being a citizen of the world. Respondents were asked to rank their identification from 1 (not at all), to 5 (to a great extent). While seven participants selected 'other', none of them specified a meaningful fifth category. Taking the mean value from all responses, identification with the different categories was as follows in *Figure 15*:

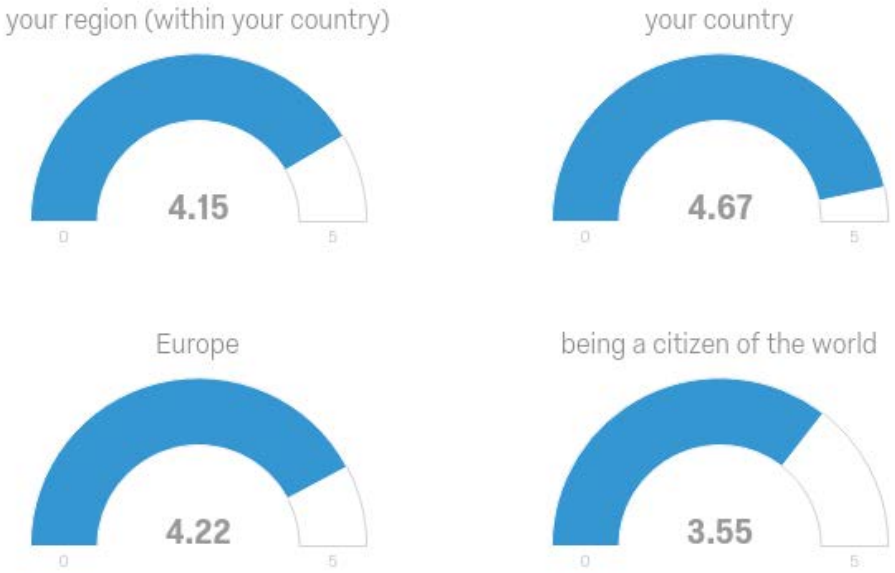

FIGURE 15 - IDENTIFICATION WITH REGION, COUNTRY, EUROPE AND THE WORLD

Source: Researcher's own data

The results indicate that CSDP practitioners identified with their country to the greatest extent with a mean of 4.67, while 'being a citizen of the world' received the lowest mean score (3.55). Identification with a country's region and with Europe received almost identical scores (4.15 and 4.22 respectively).

It was expected that survey respondents would identify most with their country, and indeed, less than 2% rated their identification with their country below a three. However, region and Europe receiving almost the same scores was somewhat unexpected, especially

as regional movements have been gaining momentum in a number of European countries (e.g. Spain, Belgium, UK), while Euroscepticism had seen a significant increase in recent years (Coelmont, 2016, p. 9). Whereas a mean score of 3.55 indicates that respondents felt somewhat connected to the rest of the world and identified as global citizens, this significantly lower rating also suggests that their identifications seemed to be defined more by a geographically confined sense of belonging.

Does a European Identity Currently Exist?

Despite being difficult to define, the concept of European identity is frequently used in everyday life. Respondents were thus asked directly whether they thought such an identity existed. A breakdown of responses is shown in *Figure 16*.

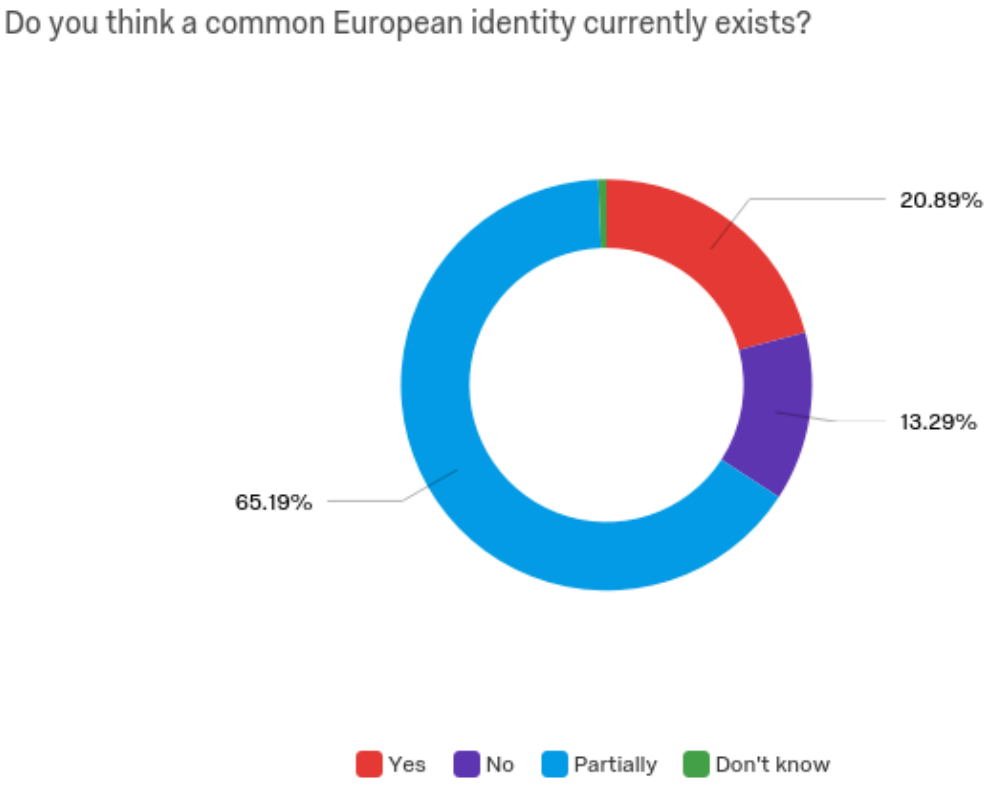

FIGURE 16 - EXISTENCE OF A COMMON EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Source: Researcher's own data

This question was followed up with a more detailed question regarding the make-up of such European identity in the eyes of security practitioners (only those who chose 'yes' or 'partially' were asked this follow-up question).

More than 85% responded positively, thus confirming that the vast majority of security practitioners believed in the existence of a European identity. It is however worth noting that only one in five respondents selected 'yes' and almost two-thirds chose 'partially' in response to this question. While training participants were asked what European identity meant to them without the use of prompts during the interview phase, the online survey provided a list of elements making up European identity from which respondents had to select what they felt were the two most important aspects. These statements were taken from a questionnaire designed by Bruter as part of a larger study on European identity in 2009 (p. 1530). The mean values for each of these can be found below in *Figure 17.*

FIGURE 17 - WHAT DOES BEING EUROPEAN MEAN TO YOU? Source: Researcher's own data

How Do Security Practitioners Define Being an EU Citizen?

One of the key narratives in the EUGS revolves around the notion that European security and defence cooperation centres on protecting EU citizens' interests and values. While it is unlikely that survey respondents were aware of this at the time of completing the online survey, it is clear from survey responses that this narrative resonated with them. When asked what being a European citizen meant to them, out of the options provided, the notion of 'having common ideals' received the highest mean score (4.34 out of 5) indicating that security practitioners felt they share values and goals with fellow Europeans. Having a common flag, anthem and passport however received the lowest mean score, suggesting that the EU's direct attempts at creating a sense of European identity through the use of symbols had thus far had little impact on practitioners' understandings of what it means to be an EU citizen.

This study seeks to establish whether a European integration identity is emerging amongst security practitioners based on the idea that individuals develop a sense of belonging and shared values and goals through civic and cultural aspects of 'being European'. The statements chosen for this question can be divided into a number of different categories, vaguely corresponding to Bruter's classifications of civic European identity (evolving around the EU as a political entity defining its citizens' rights, duties, as well as interests) and cultural European identity (related to a sense of community with fellow Europeans through shared values, etc.). The statements can thus be divided as follows in *Table 6*:

TABLE 6 - CIVIC AND CULTURAL EUROPEAN IDENTITY CATEGORIES

Civic European Identity	Score	Cultural European Identity	Score
Having the right to vote in European elections	3.89	Having a shared European heritage	3.99
Having common institutions	3.96	Having a common European history	3.74
Having the right to travel to another European country without passing through customs	4.25	Having some common ideals	4.34
Having the right to travel to another EU country without having to show your passport/ID	4.1	Being a member of the 'European family'	3.92
		Having a European flag, anthem and passport	3.36
Overall mean score	**3.91**		**3.87**

Source: Researcher's own data

'Having some common ideals' received the highest mean score of all statements, suggesting that survey participants felt they shared certain values and goals with fellow Europeans. Being able to travel freely across Europe as a key manifestation of being a European citizen also ranked very highly amongst CSDP practitioners while symbols introduced by the EU in an attempt to create a sense of European identity as noted above (Bruter, 2009, p. 1503) achieved the lowest mean score. Some of these results were somewhat unexpected. Bruter argued that civic identification with Europe is stronger than cultural identification with fellow Europeans, meaning that European identity is generally "associated with EU citizenship rather than a cultural reality" (*ibid*, p. 1512). However, when considering the mean scores from the two categories in this survey, it emerges that cultural identity statements overall achieved almost the same score as civic identity ones. It is impossible to draw conclusions from these findings as to whether they suggest that CSDP practitioners either have a stronger sense of 'cultural European identity' through their EU-related work or if notions of a cultural European identity have developed amongst Europeans since Bruter's

2009 study a decade ago. But the results indicate that there was a considerable degree of perceived shared values and goals amongst survey respondents.

This investigation of what European identity means to security practitioners was followed up by taking a broader approach during interviews. Here, training participants were asked what 'Europe' meant to them to better understand the extent to which individuals differentiate between the EU and Europe, but also to get an idea of what they associate with it. Responses generally fitted into the above two categories. On the one hand, training participants frequently alluded to the personal benefits of being able to travel freely within the EU's borders and being able to feel not quite at home, but "comfortable" in any European country (Interviewee 33, Irish). One interviewee shared the following anecdote:

> I was driving with my sons to the Netherlands where I was posted and was always very excited when I was crossing the Austrian-German border and pointed out to them: look at the border; look at the border! Until one day one of them pointed out: Daddy, this border exists only in your mind. It's no longer there. It's on a map, but you don't feel it. Why should I be excited about a border that doesn't exist? (Interviewee 36, Austria)

These views not only illustrate that developing a sense of European identity takes place over time and changes from one generation to the next, they also show that many respondents associated Europe with the benefits that European integration has brought them. Furthermore, the anecdote highlights how different generations perceive the EU differently, with the younger citizens taking many aspects for granted. However, positive references to EU institutions were scarce and a number of interviewees voicing criticisms such as this one: "the institutions are completely irrelevant in my view to the vast majority of Europeans" (Interviewee 32, Irish).

Security practitioners also frequently mentioned values in relation to Europe. One training participant felt that Europe stood for "accepting diversity, religion, and other things, in every sense, rule of law, all of us, we should accept this" (Interviewee 29, Romanian), while another summed it up as "several countries or nation-states with a shared history and values trying to build up something to have a better or more secure life" (Interviewee 34, Germany). This statement seems to connect the idea of having common values and goals and using these to advance European integration. However, others also pointed out that there were significant differences between the regions, such as an interviewee who commented: "I see Europe as two groups of countries. The West and the East" (Interviewee 19, Poland). This perceived division between regions within the EU became apparent on a number of occasions, most commonly amongst participants from Eastern European countries which had joined the EU after 2004. They felt they were not perceived as equal to older members.

The Impact of Personal Experiences on the Concept of European Identity

One of the hypotheses of this study was that personal experiences would play a role in determining individual notions of European identity. The online survey thus included a few questions regarding participants' exposure to different experiences. While substantially more questions would have been required to develop a comprehensive analysis and draw firm conclusions on this hypothesis, due to the scope of this thesis only a few aspects -such as experiences through European exchanges as well as the frequency of interactions with European colleagues at work - formed part of the online survey. This allowed a comparison between identifications amongst those with and without exchange experiences as well as those with frequent and irregular contact with fellow European professionals.

38% of survey participants indicated that they had taken part in an exchange with another European country and with regards to a European identity, those who had participated in exchanges were slightly more likely to believe in its existence (23% compared to 16%) or at least partially (62% versus 57%) as shown in *Figure 19*. However, when considering

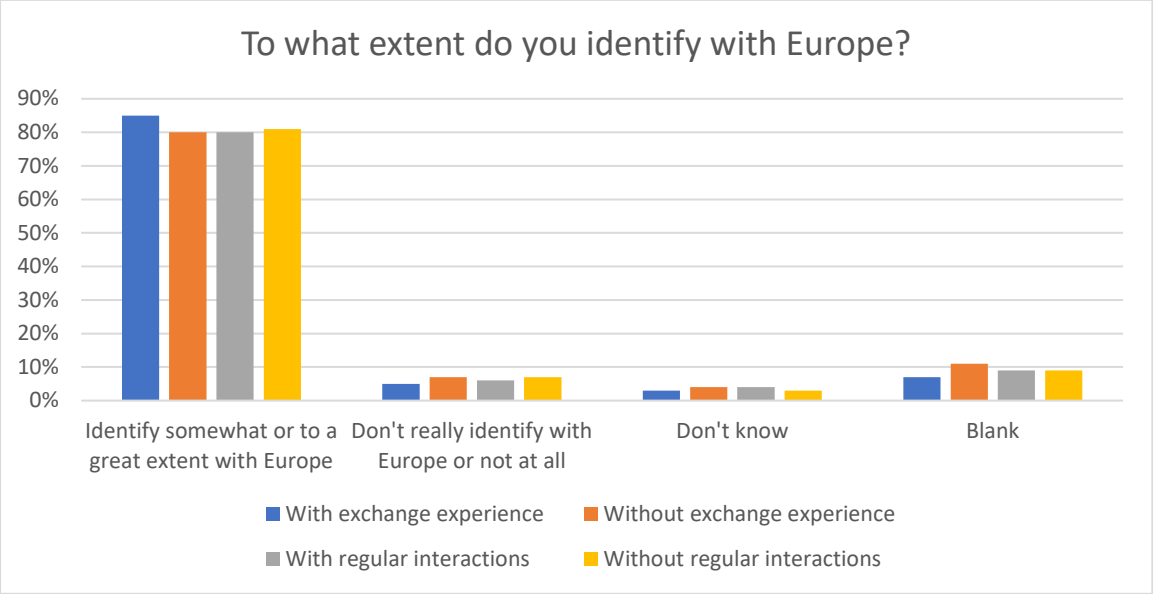

FIGURE 18 - IDENTIFICATION WITH EUROPE: EXCHANGE EXPERIENCE

Source: Researcher's own data

interactions with fellow Europeans as part of participants' jobs, those who worked with colleagues from other Member States on a daily or weekly basis (approximately 36%) were not more convinced of the existence of a European identity than those with less frequent contact.

When asked about the extent to which they identified with Europe, those with previous exchange experience rated their identification higher than those who hadn't been abroad on exchange (as illustrated in *Figure 18*). There were no noticeable differences between those with and without regular interactions with fellow Europeans at work. This suggests that working with European colleagues on a regular basis has surprisingly little impact on security practitioners' sense of European identity. While those with previous exchange

experiences were not drastically more pro-European or believed a European identity existed, this group of respondents consistently showed a more positive attitude towards identifying with Europe.

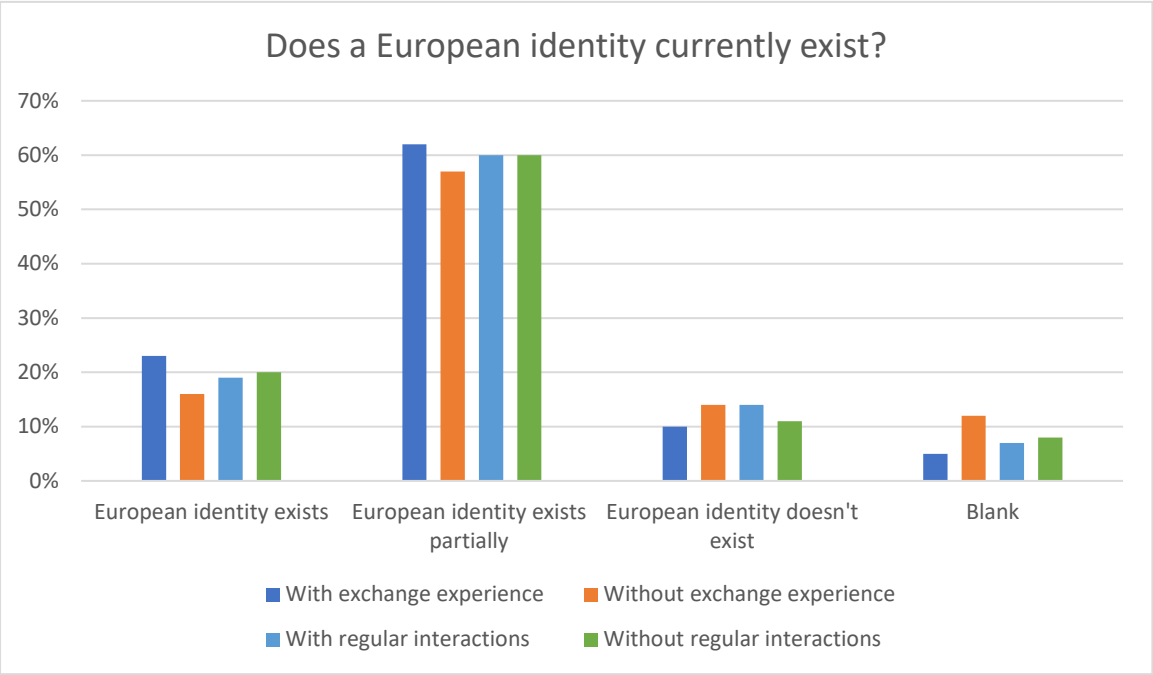

FIGURE 19 - EXISTENCE OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY: EXCHANGE EXPERIENCE

Source: Researcher's own data

While training participants were asked what European identity meant to them without the use of prompts during the interview phase, the online survey provided a list of elements constituting European identity (drawn from a Eurobarometer questionnaire) from which respondents had to select what they felt were the two most important aspects. Survey respondents overwhelmingly selected 'democratic values' (74%) as one of the most important elements of European identity, followed by a 'common culture' (26%) and 'common history' (23%). When considering Bruter's civic and cultural identity distinction, it becomes obvious that CSDP practitioners understood European identity primarily as a cultural identity consisting of a shared value system shaped by a common cultural and historical background rather than elements introduced by the EU such as a common

currency and symbols. Seven respondents also chose to specify an 'other' element, such as 'economy', 'common education', 'human rights', 'rule of law' and 'our aspirations and hopes for future generations'. Again, most of these were closely related to 'democratic values', further supporting the cultural interpretation of European identity by participants.

Whereas the online survey had asked CSDP practitioners to indicate what they perceived to be key European values and which ones they considered to be important personally from a pre-defined list, interviews facilitated a less structured and unprompted discussion of what 'European values' meant to individuals.

The first thing to note was that the idea of 'European values' was frequently discussed by interviewees in relation to 'interests'. Many were of the opinion that interests very much drove people's interactions at the European level and retained a strong national flavour. The closely related concept of common values, however, seemed at first glance to be a uniting factor for Europeans. Numerous interviewees shared sentiments such as: "I think there are a lot of common values amongst the Member States, amongst the people. I think that is one of the key things that identifies Europeans as Europeans" (Interviewee 33, Irish). Many referred to 'Christian' roots or values as well as Europe being the birthplace of 'modern democracy' (Interviewee 42, Swedish). However, a distinction was made by some participants who specifically pointed out that these values did not have anything to do with the EU as an institution: "These are not values which are fostered by the EU" (Interviewee 31, German).

One interviewee summed up European values as "my understanding of human rights and democracy and personal freedom. These are the main core values. This is what really ties me to Europe. This is where basically whenever I go to Europe, I feel at home" (Interviewee

50, Slovakian) whereas another named “respect, consideration for someone's opinion, respect for religions” as key elements (Interviewee 58, Romanian). Many also agreed that Europe’s violent history and, in particular, the two World Wars had contributed to shaping core European values of peace and human rights (Interviewee 54, Italian). Another noteworthy matter which was raised on a number of occasions was the perceived flexible nature of ‘values’. One respondent remarked that “Europe means to me in general common values that are constantly being renegotiated. Having common experiences that are marked by hundreds of years of conflict in the region” (Interviewee 51, German), while another pointed out that sharing values was no longer straight-forward:

> We don't share the same values anymore. Not only because of immigration, but also internal problems. There are differences. We now have a big Europe. We share the ancient values of the EU, the Christian roots and so on. But the main issue is that no one can say what is the common value of Europe today. There are fragilities within the countries and it is difficult to define [shared values]. (Interviewee 35, French)

These comments support the notion that values are not considered to be fixed and while the EU might be promoting certain values as essentially ‘European’, it is the people who determine whether they identify these to be European.

The Importance of Multinational Training

The importance of personal experiences during the CSDP training courses could be noted in on numerous occasions. During some courses, participants were asked to participate in problem-solving syndicate exercises, which, in addition to these informal conversations, provided individuals with food for thought and are often deemed to have been some of the most useful aspects of the course. A participant from Sweden stated that up until then “the

most rewarding has been the possibility to interact with other course participants. People with different experiences talking about things you cannot find on the internet - personal experiences. That makes you think in a different way" (Interviewee 42, Sweden). Another practitioner had a very similar view:

> When we meet people from other cultures or other branches, civilian, military, you always learn things. With the migration issues going on now, it's quite interesting to discuss. It's one thing to hear the official statement in Brussels, but it is also interesting to hear how people behind the scenes are thinking. Is the official opinion reflected in the people? (Interviewee 38, Sweden)

This suggests that residential training courses have the potential to shape individuals' views on two levels: through structured talks and lectures as well as through exchanging views with fellow Europeans via informal discussions and networking amongst a wide range of CSDP practitioners.

Variations in Values Associated with European Identity

The next question attempted to delve deeper into the idea of common European values and, in particular, tried to examine whether an overlap between personal values and those associated with the EU existed. Firstly, respondents were asked to choose the three most important values to them personally, and then to select three values which they felt best represented the EU.

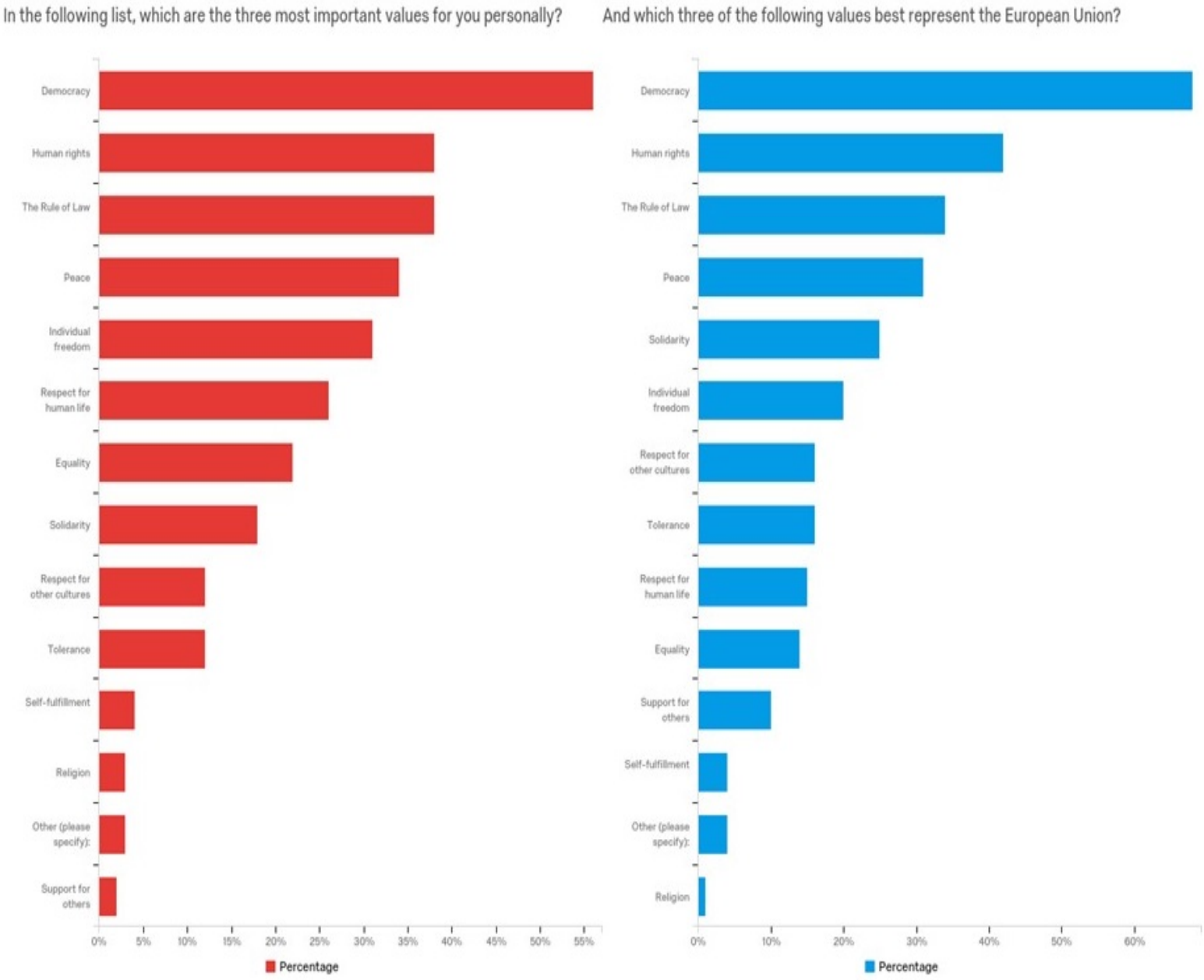

FIGURE 20- MOST IMPORTANT VALUES: PERSONAL VS. EU

Source: Researcher's own data

Despite a slightly different distribution of scores as shown in *Figure 20* above, results showed that the order of the top three items was identical for personal and EU values, suggesting that overall, respondents felt that the EU projected values that adequately represented the views individuals stood for. For individuals, democracy was the most important value, selected by 53% and followed by human rights and the rule of law with 38% each. Security practitioners felt even more strongly about the EU representing these

values, with scores significantly higher at 68% for democracy, 42% for human rights although slightly lower for rule of law at 34%. The data suggests that personal values were slightly more wide-ranging with seven items scoring more than 20% while only five EU values received over 20%. In the 'other' category, only four additional values were specified with regards to personal importance: 'health', 'history', 'strict rules' and 'integrity'. The following were provided for the EU 'other' category: 'bureaucracy', 'free market economy' and 'finding compromises'.

While values associated with the EU seemed to match those held by security practitioners, interviews revealed that participants perceived there to be considerable regional differences regarding values in the EU. Whereas some interviewees were of the opinion that recent political developments had had a detrimental impact on European values, others questioned whether the EU had become too big to have common values. A certain perceived schism between values in Eastern and Western European countries could be detected amongst a number of Eastern European participants. An interviewee from Lithuania felt that "the degree of tolerance that is in East and West Europe, it differs. Sometimes I think there is a problem with understanding freedom" (Interviewee 13, Lithuania), while another remarked that "I am from an Eastern European country. We have lots in common with Polish or Czech guys, but things are quite different between us and Italians and Germans or Austrians" (Interviewee 18, Lithuania). One Lithuanian summed these sentiments up as follows: "I see Europe as two groups of countries. The West and the East" (Interviewee 19, Lithuania).

Some CSDP practitioners seemed to take a sceptical stance towards the idea of common European values as evidenced by a Finnish participant who felt that:

> Our national values are much stronger for all Member States. Of course, it is easy in Brussels, if you work for an EU institution, to talk about something like that, but in the Member States the national identities are much stronger and they talk a different language I think. Common values with someone 2000 km away can be far-fetched". (Interviewee 24, Finnish)

This apparent clash between national and European values, interests and identities was brought up frequently and is discussed in more detail below. However, in summary, it can be said that overall, security practitioners were of the opinion that despite slight differences in values, European integration was about making these differences work to the EU's advantage: "Values are the core, very important, but because of our history which is very different, it is very difficult to change. We have different values, not better or worse, but different. We have to work with these" (Interviewee 35, France). Such a perspective reflects the EU's official motto of 'unity through diversity'.

The EU's Identity Abroad

Following on from these questions which attempted to home in on how security practitioners interpreted the concept of European identity and what values they believed the EU to represent, they were asked about identification with the EU specifically in the context of their work. Security practitioners were therefore asked how they felt about the EU flag on uniforms when deployed on CSDP missions. The rating scale ranged from 'it's a very bad thing' (1) to 'it's a very good thing' (5) and the mean score was 4.26, indicating that security practitioners had a strongly positive view of visually taking on an EU identity when

on operations abroad. Indeed, only 4% felt this was a bad thing while a further 13% indicated that it didn't matter to them.

External Perceptions of EU Security Practitioners

External perceptions and confrontation with 'the other' were only mentioned by a small number of interviewees and tended to come up whenever the participant had previously been deployed on an EU mission or operation and had thus 'represented' the EU abroad.

A number of interviewees mentioned that when taking an 'external view', one realised that "within Europe it's difficult to see it happening, but when you compare Europe to other parts of the world, you realise there is such a thing as a European identity". The participant further explained that "it looks like everybody has their own different positions and it's really hard to bring them all together. But compared to the outside world, the EU has been acting quite united and has been able to come up with its position, also vis-à-vis Russia, which hasn't been easy" (Interviewee 40, Finland). Using a more practical example, an Austrian training participant noted that you notice a "European identity when you go shopping in Milano, in Vienna, in Helsinki. It's European, distinctively different to the American identity" (Interviewee 36, Austria).

While some respondents alluded to the existence of a European identity when comparing it to non-European identities, little was said about the impact of external experiences on individuals' notions of European identity. One of the few comments was made by a Spanish member of the military, who described his experience as follows: "It is like the Blue helmets. When you are acting as part of the EU, they see you as a European, not as Spanish, or whatever. They see you as doing something good for the country. In most countries we are

welcome. They know we are trying to do something good for them". The interviewee went on to explain that "you never lost your national identity, but with so many people from other countries, it felt international, being part of a big coalition was good" (Interviewee 28, Spain). Another training participant had a similar view: "How Europe is viewed from abroad? I think you have to view Europe as one. I think Europe has more influence as one than the Member States on their own" (Interviewee 5, German).

That the EU and Europe is indeed often perceived as one entity with a distinct, somewhat normative, identity is further highlighted by a comment from a training participant from a candidate country:

> I know that every citizen from my country watches the news and is trying to understand how it is to be European citizen. […] It is very important to understand the very core idea about problems and to see how Europeans have the tools to solve these problems and it is very important for us to see that EU is always trying to solve the issues and the threats by democratic means, not using military forces. (Interviewee 22, Moldova)

This remark was made in relation to the 2015/16 refugee crisis that the EU was faced with and, unsurprisingly, recent crises such as this one were discussed in relation to European identity on a number of occasions.

A Clash of Identities?

During the interviews, practitioners were asked how they dealt with working on implementing an EU policy at the same time as working to represent their countries. This

was especially interesting as the majority of the sample fell into the category of being employed by a national institution rather than directly through the EU (only eight out of the 195 stated their employer was an EU institution).

Responses that referred to national and/or European notions of identity highlighted that individuals interpret these concepts rather differently (even when they are from the same country). Some argued that their own country's history made it difficult for them to feel attached to their nation and to develop a sense of "respect and honour" for their ancestors. As a result, they have "stronger feelings for the continent" than their country and thus want to defend it (Interviewee 17, Lithuania). Yet, another colleague from Lithuania indicated that the country's Soviet past made it difficult for Lithuanians to trust the idea of a EU, furthermore suggesting that "some people in Lithuania think that Europeans are bad. […] They are worried we would be occupied by Europe" (Interviewee 16, Lithuania). These rather different views of Europe show that notions of European identity are strongly interwoven with national identities and despite sharing the same history, individuals use certain elements of national identity in very different ways when developing their own notions of European identity.

Another interviewee stated that they believed Romanians in general felt "more European than national because they waited a lot to be accepted in this big family" (Interviewee 26, Romania). This comment suggests to a certain extent that the EU wields some normative power, and that the notion of the EU being an exclusive club that others want to be part of, has an impact on people's notions of identity. However, this sentiment was quite rare and many others asserted their national identity over notions of European identity as underlined by this Swedish interviewee: "Some politicians always want to discuss us as Europeans. But I

don't think many people feel in the morning: “I am European”. I represent my Member State. I wake up thinking I am from the northern part of Sweden” (Interviewee 38, Sweden). Other security practitioners pointed out that they felt existing notions of “national pride and sovereignty” (Interviewee 36, Austria), or different national perspectives (Interviewee 35, France) presented obstacles to a common identity emerging amongst Europeans.

Two interviewees summed up the general sentiment amongst training participants:

> I think there is a sense of belonging to the EU community. There is a lot of socialising and you talk about personal things. But at the same time you are aware that you represent your national views and interests. You know each other’s limits and you deal with them. So there is a sense of community, but national interests are crucial. (Interviewee 51, German)

Another participant further explained that “I belong to my nation. But [working in a European environment] has helped me to see the European identity. I am trying to work towards a common position. (Interviewee 30, Malta). This supremacy of national interests over any European considerations is common amongst security practitioners’ approach to work.

The last identity-related question survey participants were asked was whether they believed that their views of European integration had changed since becoming involved in CSDP implementation. While this study assesses the impact of CSDP training on notions of identity amongst security practitioners, it is impossible to ascertain whether any changes can be solely attributed to a specific course and the strategic narratives projected. However, survey participants were asked whether they believed their views of European integration had changed since embarking on implementing the CSDP.

Figure 21 shows that responses included a minority of participants (21%) who were unsure whether their views had changed. The remaining respondents were almost equally divided regarding the impact of taking on a CSDP-related role on their views of European integration (38% said yes, 41% said no). When asked to explain their responses, participants who felt

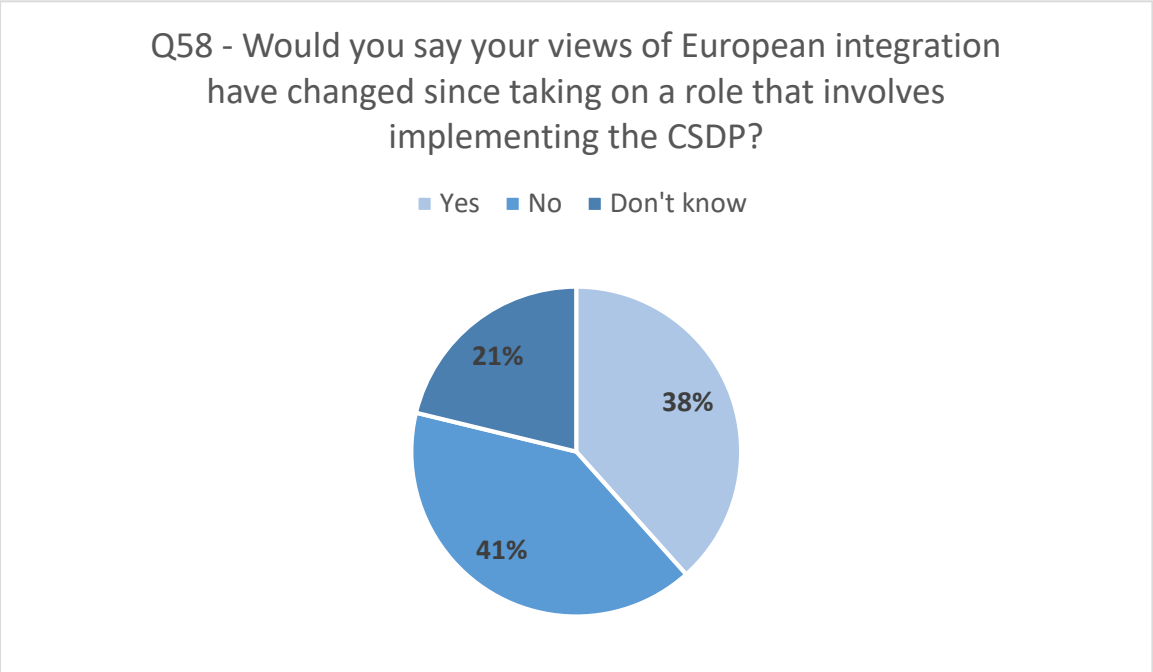

FIGURE 21- CHANGED VIEWS THROUGH WORK ON CSDP Source: Researcher's own data

their views had changed provided comments such as: "I started to appreciate the complexity of EU issues, institutions and decision-making. It is so difficult that it is close to impossible to comprehend without being an "insider" (Survey Participant, Czech).

This sentiment was shared by numerous respondents. Many indicated that they had obtained a deeper understanding of EU processes which gave them a better grasp of international politics in general: "It has become more important to unify the common efforts to secure the world - no country can stand alone and by pooling our efforts we can offer a more comprehensive approach" (Survey Respondent, Danish). This response shows that the respondent was even using language frequently used in an EU security context – pooling of resources and employing a comprehensive approach. It is especially remarkable

coming from a citizen of a Member State that has opted out of the CSDP and who doesn't work for an EU institution as this also suggests that they do not share their government's stance on European security and defence. Another respondent stated that since commencing their job, they had "realised that EU is truly seeking for peace, stability and wellbeing in all of its Member States, as well as for the neighbour countries. And also, common security means a more strategic security and defence rather than a bigger military force" (Survey participant, Romanian). Working on CSDP implementation led this respondent to believe that the EU sought to protect its citizens' interests and security while at the same time largely refrained from utilising military tools to achieve this.

While most comments regarding an increase in knowledge were positive, a small number also suggested that through their work they had become somewhat disillusioned, saying that they had become more "sceptical" or that they thought more "negatively" towards European integration. An issue that most respondents agreed on was that they appreciated the challenges the EU was facing (both internally and externally) more after becoming involved in CSDP implementation.

When considering the main identity narratives projected by the EU, it became obvious that these were somewhat reflected in respondents' comments regarding changes in their views. While the expression 'common security culture' was not directly used by participants, they frequently referred to the need to develop a more joined-up collective approach as they felt individual Member States could no longer deal adequately with security threats on their own. This was illustrated by a respondent's comment which also contained specific language employed by the EU (the use of 'comprehensive approach'): "It has become more important to unify the common efforts to secure the world - no country can stand alone and by

pooling our efforts we can offer a more comprehensive approach". Furthermore, he went on to note that working on CSDP issues seems to result in an understanding that the EU needs take on more responsibility as a security provider: "I realise now how important it is for the EU to act decisively outside the territory of the EU, to focus on the root causes of many of the factors adding to instability in the neighbouring regions" (Survey Participant, Finnish).

Perceptions of EU Power – The EU's International Identity

The content analysis of both the ESS and the EUGS highlighted the EU's ambition to project itself not just as a soft power, but as a pragmatic actor that is willing to use all the tools at its disposal to deal with security threats. While the ESS was vaguer about the use of military force and put more emphasis on exporting democracy and its value system, thus presenting itself as a somewhat normative power, the EUGS stressed a new 'principled pragmatism' and reiterated the need to employ civilian as well military measures when implementing its foreign policy. It is however important to bear in mind that interviews were conducted before the EUGS was released and most interviewees could not be familiar with the new Strategy's content.

When asked about what kind of power the EU represented, the majority of interview participants indicated that they saw the EU primarily as a soft power. Many felt that the EU not only lacked the capabilities to be a credible hard power, but they also believed that it did not want to project itself as a military union (Interviewee 30, Maltese) and in fact wanted to be seen as "a soft power and using more multilateralism and diplomacy and so on, but […] it could move to more of a hard power." (Interviewee 46, Slovakian). A German

participant had a similar view of the EU continuing to rely mainly on soft power: “To be honest, the EU provides security via money, that's my impression. When I read the numbers in reports I get, the fact that they don't have their own capabilities means they have to use money. They are a security provider, but in an indirect way” (Interviewee 31, German).

While this is quite a limited interpretation of the EU’s role as a security provider, others continued to consider the EU’s soft power approach as a significant strength:

> The EU has a very strong advantage. It is a soft power. NATO is not a soft power. US is hard power. So people, may I say, feel very angry about them. […] You can achieve many things with soft power, many more than with hard power. (Interviewee 12, Greece)

An interviewee from Germany had a similar opinion: “It's important also not to come across as a military force, but as an actor that offers advice and the tools for other states to solve their problems on their own” (Interviewee 51, Germany). These responses suggest that there seemed to be a considerable amount of objection to the idea of the EU moving towards being a more traditional military power amongst CSDP practitioners.

Furthermore, many practitioners were of the opinion that soft power not only continued to be the EU’s unique selling point, but also felt that the EU was trying to maintain this identity.

Only one interviewee specifically stated that they wanted the EU to take on a greater military identity: “I understand that EU sees itself to be a soft power and using more multilateralism and diplomacy and so on, but I think it could move to be more of a hard power” (Interviewee 46, Slovakia).

Despite this strong perception of the EU's identity being largely defined by soft power, only a limited number of interviewees referred to the EU's normative role. While one interviewee felt that Europe is known for its human rights and should therefore also project these "in our direct vicinity – it's a way of creating stability" (Interviewee 49, Netherlands), another deliberated that "at the moment we expect everyone to play by the values and the rules that we think are important, but other people are looking at it in a different way, so we should be thinking about other options" (Interviewee 33, Ireland). While this view seemed to be in line with the stance taken by the EU in the EUGS, which promoted a much more differentiated and individual approach to dealing with security issues, it underlined that CSDP practitioners did not seem to view the EU as a substantive normative power.

Perceived Threats to European Identity

Notions of European identity are fluid, thus constantly being renegotiated and interpreted by individuals. The political climate and the perceived problems facing Europe were frequently said to impact not only on a sense of community and common identity amongst Europeans, but also on the very existence of the EU. However, only a small number of interviewees argued that issues such as the refugee crisis had the potential to unite Europeans further: "It gets Europe more connected. 28 Member States try to work together. The Greek crisis for example, it makes you strive to be more united. With the refugee crisis as well, we work together so that we get out of it together" (Interviewee 30, Malta).

Instead, the majority of training participants felt recent crises had had a rather negative impact: "Talking about refugees, the Hungarian government decided to build a fence, other countries do not agree with this. Opinions collide and this hurts a sense of community"

(Interviewee 17, Lithuanian). A Swedish colleague made the following assessment: “So that's a danger in the current situation that different parts of the EU are breaking apart from each other. I don't think we will overcome that any time soon” (Interviewee 1). A training participant from the Netherlands concluded that “this will be the Litmus test, the migration issue. If you cannot solve these issues together, then it has only been words and not really based on values and everybody can start building fences and walls (Interviewee 41, Dutch).

This notion of interests taking priority over values in crisis situations was echoed by another interviewee, who argued that:

> When the systems come under pressure from a problem like the migration issue, I think it will by necessity force people back to look at interests and they need to be willing to, on occasion, let interests take priority. If you don't serve your interests on occasion, you won't be successful enough to have your values. (Interviewee 37, Irish)

In relation to recent crises threatening a sense of community and European identity, a couple of security practitioners stated that they believed the EU itself did not play any role in promoting unity. Rather, they argued that the “political ambition of the EU” may have created a divide in Europe (Interviewee 43, British) and another claimed that it was on the edge of falling apart, but that the people would “manage to keep it up because mostly it is the people, not the governments. They feel like a community” (Interviewee 10, Greek). While these comments focused on the state of the EU, other interviewees commented on the rise of nationalistic movements in their own countries and other parts of Europe (Interviewee 4, Finnish). One training participant concluded that what was happening in Europe was

> A more nationalistic movement which frightens me, which is the worst that could happen. It's the worst that could happen after 60 years of EU, peace. It has never been so bad as it is now in a time that you see progress, that you see countries being happy to join the EU from the Eastern European region. It's terrible that on the national side, governments, politicians, academics are so negative about the EU. (Interviewee 41, Dutch)

Conclusion to Chapter 8 Section b)

This examination of notions of national and European identities has shown that while these were interpreted quite differently at the personal level, they only played a small part in practitioners' professional lives as decisions and behaviour were still very much driven by overarching national perspectives and interests. With regards to the identity narratives communicated by the EU, this analysis has revealed the following insights. Firstly, the ESS and EUGS communicated a stronger international identity for the EU that includes the use of hard power. While CSDP practitioners were very much aware of the need to act together to achieve better security solutions, thus requiring the EU to take on a more comprehensive role as a security provider, the vast majority of CSDP practitioners did not see the EU as a military power. Instead, they were of the opinion that the EU's soft power remained its greatest asset and that NATO should be the organisation to provide 'hard security'.

Secondly, the new EUGS was based on the assumption that Europeans share common values and interests which demand closer security cooperation. Security practitioners agreed that they shared certain overarching values with one another and through their work became more aware of differing views and approaches. While a basic "shared self-

understanding" (Kantner, 2005, p. 207) seemed to be present, thus making individuals more willing to compromise, ultimately, national identity and, above all, interests continued to determine their behaviour. Many interviewees referred to contemporary problems such as the financial crisis and the refugee crisis as an indication, on the one hand that values and interests were not as common as one might think, and on the other hand that in times of difficulty, it was nationalist sentiments and not a common European identity that seemed to gain popularity. This suggests that a shift from a 'weak' to a 'strong collective identity' was somewhat impeded by these events evoking stronger national notions of collective identity instead.

Thirdly, while a common security culture as promoted in the ESS and the EUGS was generally considered to be a useful long-term goal and, in theory, a vital tool for making the CSDP more efficient and coherent, the majority of training participants were previously unfamiliar with the expression and felt that it was not something that would realistically be achieved any time soon.

To conclude, it can be said that while CSDP practitioners' attitudes towards security and defence at EU level were not inconsistent with the strategic visions outlined in the ESS and EUGS and communicated through a number of strategic narratives, considerations of a common European identity or a sense of community did not determine the implementation of the CSDP. Instead, civilian and military staff largely retained a 'national mind-set', which, through their work and interactions at European level, had become more aware of and open to different approaches and compromise. This was summed up by a German interviewee's use of the idea of a "*Wahrnehmungshorizont*" (perceptual horizon): The EU is a "space of Wahrnehmungshorizont. It is not a closed community, but it is a joined sense of

togetherness, that maybe is not far reaching, but you make sense of things in a similar way" (Interviewee 14, German).

Section c): Practitioners' Views of the CSDP and the Future of European Security and Defence

Strategic narratives relating directly to the CSDP are the most specific narratives projected by the EU. This means that they are situated within a wider European integration framework made up of narratives explaining the international system and fostering an identification with Europe and the EU in particular. However, their reception by security practitioners is crucial as they not only have a practical approach to interpreting them due to the nature of their work, they often also come up against national security policy narratives. A content analysis of the EU's two strategies relating to the CSDP revealed two key narratives (as shown in *Figure 22* below):

1) EU security and defence cooperation as the best way to adapt to a changing security environment and respond to ever more complex security threats

2) Establishing a common European security culture and increasing solidarity to improve security provision in Europe

FIGURE 22 - THE EU'S POLICY NARRATIVES Source: Researcher's own

These entail calls for increased cooperation and multilateralism to cope with changing security threats, implementing a comprehensive approach that includes a stronger military component and, more recently, a more pragmatic and inwardly-focused approach to security and defence at EU level. All of these are aimed at simplifying the practical implementation of security policy, thus having the potential to resonate with security practitioners focused on the practical aspects of security provision.

Understanding of CSDP Amongst Security Practitioners Prior to Participating in ESDC-Coordinated Training

Initially, to get a better grasp of how individuals viewed the security system and the EU's role in it, it was important to capture how much they felt they knew about the EU's security and defence policy, and whether they distinguished between the role of their nation-state and the EU as a security actor. Measuring how aware CSDP practitioners were of the EU's key strategic document as well as how useful they perceived EU security and defence cooperation to be gave a valuable insight into the EU's legitimacy in this policy area. In addition to gaining an impression of security practitioners' concepts of the international system and the EU's role within it through conducting an online survey, the interviews sought to delve deeper into the subject matter through asking training participants about what they perceived to be key security threats in today's world and probing them further on their views on the EU's role as a security actor. They were also asked how they felt Europe's security and defence might develop in the future. This included prompts regarding whether they thought closer cooperation or integration was likely or desirable. Both research methods were employed to determine if there were common views amongst security practitioners and whether the EU's framing of security and defence cooperation resonated with them, thus also investigating the extent to which respondents received and responded to narratives communicated during CSDP training. Special attention was paid to the key messages participants took away from the training course and whether these featured any of the EU's key narratives regarding the CSDP.

Naturally, there was a high level of awareness regarding the current security environment and a perceived need to develop a common approach to security and defence. However,

the level of knowledge of the CSDP varied significantly. This became especially obvious during interviews which revealed that some training participants had become aware of the policy for the first time: “[The course] gave me a good background on what the goal was. I didn't know there was a CSDP. I didn't know. Apparently, there is one. It's good to be aware of that, the agenda, the frustrations of the persons in the field, the decision-makers” (Interviewee 48, Dutch). The fact that some security practitioners in Europe were not aware of the CSDP at all prior to attending the training course indicates that the EU’s internal communication of its security policy was not reaching its target audience sufficiently and highlights the importance of ESDC-coordinated training courses. However, the EU’s failure to adequately project the importance of the CSDP is further underlined by a participant who stated that the course was not portrayed “as something very important or valuable, neither in the nations, nor in the EU organisations” (Interviewee 36, Austrian).

Despite some course participants being confronted with the CSDP for the first time, the majority attended the courses with at least some, but often considerable background knowledge. Some more experienced CSDP practitioners remarked that the “presentations do not really correspond to the target audience” (Interviewee 34, German). This highlighted once more not only the difficulties associated with delivering training to professionals from various national backgrounds, but also the practical aspects of the EU’s comprehensive approach – bringing together people from civilian as well as military backgrounds with different approaches to, and varying degrees of knowledge of European security and defence. Some interviewees perceived this to be a disadvantage, mentioning that discussing the CSDP with fellow course participants had been difficult due to the group being “so split and from so many different institutions” (Interviewee 44, Finnish). However, for others this

was a positive aspect and they pointed out that “the interaction with people from different areas of CSDP is the most positive [aspect of the course]” (Interviewee 42, Swedish).

The EU’s Credibility as a Security Actor

Following on from questions regarding their knowledge of EU processes and CSDP, survey respondents were invited to consider whether they felt the EU was a credible global security actor. This question was asked to establish whether security practitioners believed the EU had the necessary capabilities to put the CSDP into action. Results are shown in *Figure 23*.

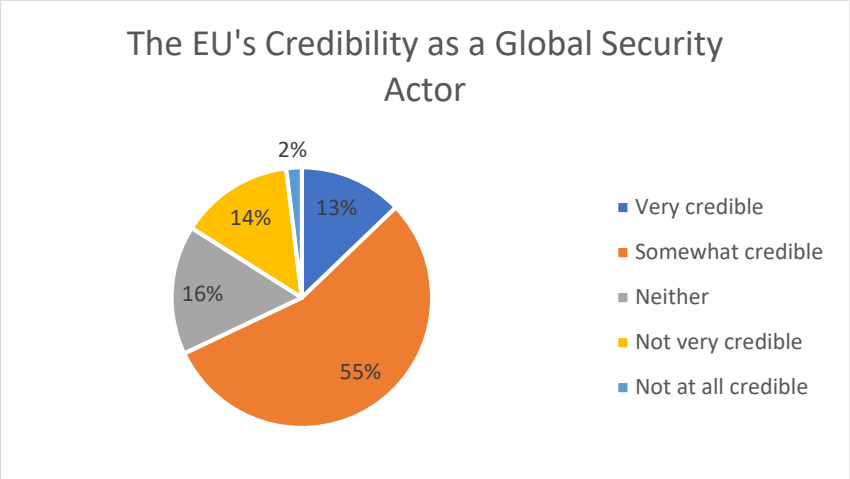

FIGURE 23 - THE EU'S CREDIBILITY AS A GLOBAL SECURITY ACTOR

Source: Researcher’s own data

As discussed previously, self-rated knowledge of the CSDP was relatively high, (with a mean score of 3.67 out of 5) whereas perceived knowledge of the ESS was significantly lower (mean score of 3.27 out of 5). This indicated that security practitioners felt familiar with the overall policy but were less aware of the EU’s strategic vision for security and defence provision. When asked how credible they thought the EU was as a global security actor, the majority of respondents selected ‘somewhat credible’ (55%), indicating that they felt the EU had some way to go before coming across as a credible security provider. This is further underlined by only 13% declaring the EU to be a ‘very credible’ security actor.

This survey question was followed up by an open-ended one asking respondents to explain their rating. Here, answers varied, hence the main explanations for the EU's perceived lack of credibility were coded as follows:

- Internal divisions: lack of coherence, no consensus, national interests prevail, lack of political will
- Lack of knowledge regarding the EU's role as a security provider within and outside the EU
- Lack of independence: too reliant on US, in the shadow of NATO
- Not a real hard power: soft power approach prevails, credible as an aid donor, too 'soft', only economic power

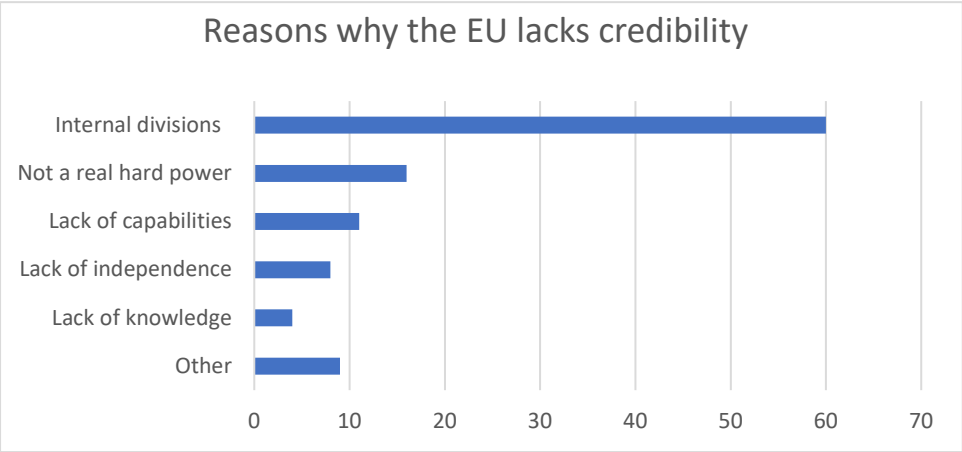

FIGURE 24 - REASONS WHY THE EU LACKS CREDIBILITY Source: Researcher's own data

Figure 24 above shows the number or responses coded into each of the categories. One respondent recited a well-known phrase: "sadly, the EU is still an economic giant, a political dwarf, and a military worm" (Survey respondent, Spanish). An overwhelming majority of those who believed that the EU was not yet a fully credible global security actor mentioned internal problems as the main obstacle stopping the EU from reaching its full potential. This included issues such as a lack of consensus amongst Member States due to the dominance

of national interests as well as a lack of political will. When interviewed during and after participating in a CSDP training course, numerous security practitioners confirmed earlier comments by maintaining that the EU did not yet constitute a global security actor due to a lack of consensus among Member States. This was illustrated by a statement from a military officer-recruit from Italy: “The EU has now not a real security role. Because every nation takes its own measures, for example France decides to bombard Syria, without Italy, without Germany. We need unification because we cannot act everybody on their own.” (Interviewee 54, Italy).

Furthermore, many recognised that the EU was facing troubling times externally, as well as internally. A participant from the Netherlands remarked that

> it used to be very safe and prosperous, but in the last 5 to 10 years, we have seen something different. It's not as safe as we want it to be. I see the EU filling this gap. But we shouldn't just look inside our borders. Outside, there is also limited things outside. I don't see the EU as a global actor, only in the wider European area. (Interviewee 49, Dutch)

Recent issues such as the refugee crisis and Russia’s invasion of Crimea were used as examples of the EU’s unpreparedness, suggesting that the EU needed to deal with internal problems and security threats. Unbeknownst to the majority of training participants at the time, this inward-looking shift was also to become one of the key developments in the EUGS which was published a few months later, thus clearly reflecting the EU security community’s sentiments.

Participants also felt that the EU lacked the necessary capabilities, mainly referring to insufficient funding as well as a lack of a ‘common army’. In this regard, they also frequently

mentioned that while “the EU is credible as a global donor of humanitarian aid”, it does not yet represent a “real hard power” (Survey respondent, Swedish). Furthermore, on several occasions, it was pointed out that the EU was still too dependent on other security actors or that their efforts were overlapping, namely with the United States, NATO and the UN. Many thus felt that it was unnecessary for the EU to get involved in military missions: “In my opinion, NATO / its members’ armed forces is enough for military defence of European territory and for missions abroad also” (Survey respondent, Romanian). Another survey respondent commented that NATO remained the “main pillar of security even for Europe, with the strongest assets, providing constant support in military actions, it has created a strong partnership” (Survey respondent, Romanian). This suggests that there was a level of competition between the EU’s narrative around the necessity of EU military capabilities and arguably longer established narratives at national levels regarding NATO. It was the understanding that NATO was Europe’s main security actor which seemed to continue to shape security practitioners’ views on the role of the CSDP.

Participants not only felt that decision-making processes remained too complex and complicated. Another key reason for the EU’s perceived lack of credibility was a general lack of knowledge about EU security and defence both within the EU as well as externally.

When respondents felt that the EU was a credible global security actor, explanations were often quite basic, simply stating that they were doing a decent job and had a good track record in crisis management. One aspect that was mentioned most frequently was that the EU had a great range of tools available to tackle current security threats: “It has a large portfolio of strategies and possible instruments to enhance security regionally and globally” (Survey respondent, German). Some participants also stated that the mere fact that the EU

included so many major countries and the size of their combined economies gave it credibility.

Yet, even those who were more positive about the EU's role clearly outlined a narrower focus for the EU when interviewed:

> I think the role of the EU is underestimated. The EU is able and willing in a way to act as a security provider in its neighbourhood but not with the tools and means you would normally associate with security. The EU is very much engaged in the field of human security, with development aid and other financial instruments. They are even doing a lot of crisis management, but not with significant numbers. (Interviewee 34, German)

This vision of a mainly civilian role is frequently supported by other training participants such as a member of the German Bundeswehr who remarked: "I don't think the EU is a global actor. Smaller missions, in a limited neighbourhood with limited mandates are possible" (Interviewee 51, German).

Overall, it can be said that while respondents recognised the EU's potential to be a global security actor, they felt that internal frictions were the main obstacle to achieving this. It is also evident that many would like to see the EU developing a more independent security role with more military power and better (financial) resources to deal with security threats which require a comprehensive range of measures.

Security Priorities and Threat Perceptions amongst European Security Practitioners

One of the key obstacles to better cooperation within the EU and with external partners were the significant differences across Europe when it came to security priorities. While the ESS alluded to tackling 'common threats', the EUGS emphasised the need to defend 'common interests'. Both suggested that establishing a more joined-up approach to analysing and understanding threats was a key step in fostering better cooperation.

With regards to security practitioners' views on security priorities for the EU, these were largely congruous with those communicated through the EU's strategy documents.

FIGURE 25 - ROLE OF THE EU Source: Researcher's own data

Figure 25 above shows that multilateralism was given the highest mean score, followed by using primarily civilian measures to implement its foreign policy and providing humanitarian

assistance. Using military capabilities to protect EU citizens and their interests scored considerably lower than the other statements. These results suggest that survey respondents perceived the EU as a predominantly civilian power whose focus was on humanitarian assistance rather than traditional military defence matters. The importance of multilateralism, on the one hand, indicated a strong emphasis on the need for legitimacy through international cooperation while at the same time highlighting security practitioners' awareness of the need of the EU's reliance on cooperation to successfully tackle security threats.

However, when it comes to defining priorities for security provision across Europe, the interview data revealed less consensus. While the topic of key priorities and threats came up naturally during some interviews, other interviewees shared their views in the context of discussing the EU's role as a security provider, and at times, a prompt regarding these was given. Whenever threats were discussed, there was a clear link between respondents' own geographical location and the type of threats and priorities mentioned. Furthermore, numerous interviewees remarked that due to different geographical locations and the sheer size of the EU, security priorities could never be the same across Europe. An interviewee from Finland stated that "It is clear that different Member States have different interests, they have different threats and contexts. There are so many different kinds of Member States. It would be great if we all had the same understanding, priorities. But I don't see that happening" (Interviewee 44). While interviewees from Western Europe named terrorism, and the war in Syria as the main threats, Scandinavian and Eastern European respondents stated that Russia and the refugee crisis were the biggest threats to their countries. An interviewee from Sweden observed that "the threat as we perceive it from Russia is increasing, we are starting to get more introvert or thinking more about our national

defence" (Interviewee 1). Furthermore, there seemed to be an escalation of threat perceptions regarding the unfolding refugee crisis during the data collection period (2015/16) which meant that while views at the beginning were mostly sympathetic towards refugees, dealing with such large numbers of refugees had turned into a problem and even a security threat towards the end of the study.

To summarise, interviews showed that while security practitioners were generally of the opinion that they shared overarching security interests such as protection from terrorism and cyber-attacks, any more specific priorities continued to be defined by national interests: "Of course we have different priorities. When it comes to CSDP, I hope that we will see some day a more common approach. That's far away at this point" (Interviewee 4, Finnish).

EU security cooperation as the way forward in a complex security environment?

A survey question which investigated security practitioners' views on EU security cooperation as the way forward in an ever more complex global security sphere was asked indirectly during the online survey by assessing whether respondents felt EU security cooperation was beneficial to their country. Survey participants displayed a strongly positive view of EU security cooperation as can be seen in *Figure 26*.

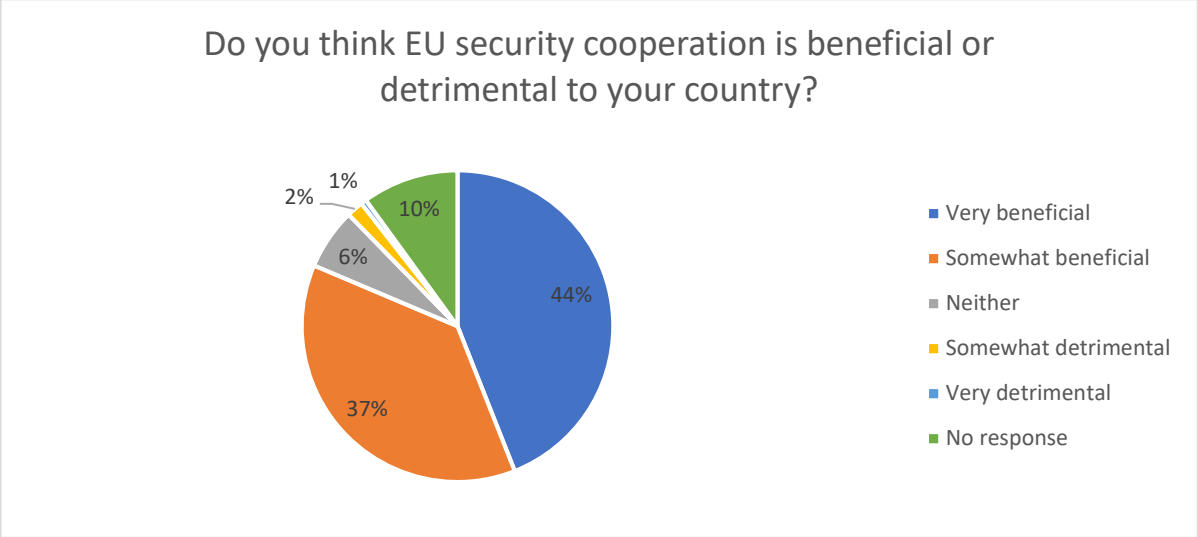

FIGURE 26- THE IMPACT OF EU SECURITY COOPERATION Source: Researcher's own data

One interviewee summed up many practitioners' views as follows:

> Many colleagues see security and defence policy in a very national light. That's not wrong, because it has always been a national responsibility, nation-states are the main actors and it's one of the main reasons for the existence of nation-states. But to solve complex problems, new security threats, globalisation, humanitarian crises, doing your own thing doesn't get you very far. (Interviewee 14, Germany)

Another interviewee suggested that EU cooperation on security and defence matters was especially beneficial to smaller EU countries and newer Member States (Interviewee 52, German). Only 9% of respondents felt that EU security cooperation did not have a positive impact on their country. Out of these, the majority were military staff from Eastern Europe or Scandinavia (73%). While no further explanation of these results was sought, one interpretation may be that their threat perceptions regarding Russia and the importance of territorial defence made them more likely to favour NATO over EU cooperation.

When considering how these initial views of security practitioners regarding EU cooperation corresponded to the narratives communicated through the ESS and EUGS, it becomes apparent that respondents were aware of the changing security environment and the shifting nature of threats to include a much wider variety of issues. However, it also appears that many did not believe threat perceptions were shared among EU Member States. Instead, they believed that national interests prevailed and stopped the EU from being a truly efficient global security actor. Moreover, while the EU had shifted from being solely a soft power to having its own military capabilities, the EU's role was still perceived as one that primarily used non-coercive measures. In fact, many respondents felt that the EU was not a real hard power and some argued that this wouldn't be the case until it created its own military forces. While the latest security strategy did not go so far as to call for a 'European Army' as such, it took a much more pragmatic approach to security and defence, including the continued pursuit of developing EU military capabilities.

Despite this seeming immaturity of the EU as a security provider, a vast majority of respondents were of the opinion that EU security and defence cooperation was beneficial to their country and many wanted to see the EU become a more independent security actor. Yet, at the same time, they were aware that multilateral cooperation was vital for the protection of EU citizens and their interests. The EU's focus on acting within a multilateral framework thus seemed to resonate with European security practitioners who believed that working with other international actors was a key aspect of security provision today. To sum up, it seems that the EU had not yet instilled a sense of common threat perceptions amongst security practitioners or created sufficient enthusiasm amongst the Member States to develop a more credible and well-defined military component to its security and defence approach. The new EUGS has set out to do so, but whether it has the capacity to generate

genuine progress regarding further cooperation in rather challenging times remains to be seen.

Security Practitioners' Perceptions of the CSDP after Participating in Training

Having investigated the projection of CSDP narratives as well as study participants' views and attitudes towards EU security cooperation and, in particular, the CSDP prior to taking part in ESDC-coordinated training, it is also crucial to consider if and how security practitioners received these narratives during the training courses. During the interview stage, a number of topics were therefore covered to further explore perceptions of EU security policy implementation. These included key messages that participants would take away from the course regarding the CSDP, views on the development of a common European security culture, the state of security and defence provision in Europe and visions for the future. Furthermore, interviewees were asked about the quality of the training courses, the content, what they felt worked well/poorly, as well as the impact of participating in such multinational training.

Towards a Common European Security Culture?

The pursuit of a common security culture was first mentioned in the ESS and then became a major goal of the ESDC when it was established a few years later. While the EUGS did not explicitly refer to this concept, it continued to be pursued via the ESDC-coordinated training courses and acted as an overarching narrative tying together the ideas of fostering a comprehensive approach to security and defence as well as the EU's goal of securing its

citizens interests and values. Interviewees were thus asked what the term 'common European security culture' meant to them and how they felt about the EU's pursuit of its creation.

The majority of training participants indicated that they were not familiar with the term and also found the word 'culture' challenging in the context of the CSDP. One security practitioner stated they didn't know what the EU meant by it and therefore interpreted 'common security culture' as being "about the common understanding of the security things. It's about having the same values and principles" (Interviewee 22, Moldovan) while another remarked that "the idea of a culture, I don't know if that's the right term I would use. I think an understanding of the way the EU deals with security issues is what needs to be appreciated" (Interviewee 37, Irish). This interpretation of a better understanding of EU security and defence was further expanded on by another training participant:

> For me, common European security culture means better understanding about defence issues. […] That means if I understand that, I will translate and transfer this understanding to my country, to my colleagues, because this is very useful and important to the EU as a global leader. (Interviewee 7, Bulgarian)

Unlike the first comment about sharing common values and principles, and despite the term 'culture' seemingly linking in with notions of identity, most security practitioners struggled to make sense of the expression in such a context and instead only interpreted the idea of creating a common security culture as a process of developing a common knowledge base regarding the CSDP amongst security practitioners, eventually leading to a common understanding of security threats and the means to tackle these. Such an interpretation of the concept suggests it is a policy narrative rather than an identity narrative.

Many acknowledged that a common approach or culture would be beneficial to making European security and defence more efficient, as expressed by this interview participant: "To solve complex problems, new security threats, globalisation, humanitarian crises, doing your own thing doesn't get you very far. So you should at least try to cooperate and to standardise things to try and achieve the best results" (Interviewee 14, German). Yet, not many thought the ambition of creating a common security culture was something that could be achieved in the near future. Interview participants perceived a lack of shared interests to be the main obstacle to having a common approach to security and defence – something that could only be developed over time and with the help of exchanges, training and learning from one another (*ibid*). Emphasis was placed on raising awareness of the level of interconnectedness in today's world and how security threats no longer affected a single country, but the whole Union.

Many course participants indicated that the CSDP brought together not only people from different countries, but also from different fields of security implementation and thus different working cultures. One officer in training pointed out that military cultures in Europe were rather similar, suggesting that the difficulty lay in attempting to combine military and civilian cultures at EU level:

> It is incredibly important that despite our different nationalities, we all share the same profession and the basic attitudes and opinions aren't that different. It is important to realise that we have more in common as soldiers than we have with civilians. (Interviewee 14, German)

This divide between civilian and military security practitioners was also observed by civilian course participants (i.e. Interviewee 44, Finnish). One interviewee with a military

background made a telling observation regarding the differing approaches of civilian and military staff: “I think the EU diplomats think that once we have to use the military, we've lost the battle or the war” (Interviewee 36, Austria).

However, most interviewees came to the conclusion that national interests posed the biggest and seemingly insurmountable hurdle to developing a common security culture, as explained by a course participant from Malta: “The EU has been trying to create a common European position on security and defence, […], there are so many different national interests. Yes, you want them to act with one voice, but at the end of the day, national interests take over everything else” (Interviewee 30).

With regards to the practical steps involved in fostering a common security culture, many interview participants felt this would be a major challenge. On the one hand, some participants believed that the CSDP training courses failed to function as a platform for fostering a common security culture, such as this interviewee: “I think an understanding of the way the EU deals with security issues is what needs to be appreciated, but I am not getting that at this stage of the module. I am not getting that message” (Interviewee 37, Irish). On top of learning about the EU’s approach to security and defence, interviewees also believed developing a common culture was a bottom-up undertaking. One German member of the Armed Forces suggested that “you can't tell people to just have a common culture. It is something that has to develop. It only works through far-reaching exchanges where you see the faces behind the flags and national borders. To be able to work people out properly, to meet them in real life” (Interviewee 14, German). Many security practitioners were thus of the opinion that it was the informal aspects of the training courses which had the most potential to facilitate the creation of a common security culture: “[the networking] I think is

essential, it is as important as the course itself" (Interviewee 12, Greek). The main sentiment regarding a common security culture was however that it was merely a long-term ambition rather than a tangible goal.

Creating a European Security Culture - The Idea of an EU Army

Another idea that is periodically brought up by politicians and the media has been the prospect of creating a 'European army' (an actual definition of what this would look like is rarely provided). This was an especially interesting subject for this study as it was of direct concern to CSDP practitioners. In the survey, it was defined as an independent army not made up of contingents from different Member States, but individuals serving directly under an EU authority. While 17% of respondents did not know whether they were for or against the creation of such an armed force, a sizeable majority (60%) were in favour of establishing such a European army. There was no significant difference between military and civilian respondents' views on this matter or between those who had been in their current profession for less than five years and those who had been in it longer. Results also did not vary significantly between members of older Member States and those from post-2004 enlargement States.

As the idea of a common European army was a widely discussed subject, this question was followed up with one of the few open-ended questions in the online survey asking respondents to explain their answer. The reasons against its creation can be summed up into the following trains of thought:

- The EU is not ready for such a step – more integration is needed first/no strategic direction/ institutions not set up for this

- This should be done by NATO, not the EU
- Financial concerns over different national defence budgets
- National sovereignty and interests too important and different to pursue this
- No unity amongst people, no real will to help each other in this way

Several of those who were against the idea of creating such an army went on to explain that they neither thought that this was a feasible proposal at this point in time, nor something that was likely to happen in the longer-term. Furthermore, only one military participant (out of a total of 23 who rejected the idea) specifically indicated that they personally would not be willing to directly serve an institution other than their country: “I am a member of national armed forces and want to be sent on operations based on national parliamentarian decisions”. Overall, the main argument against the creation of a European army was that the EU was not ready for such a move due to institutional and structural shortcomings as well as a lack of commitment to further integration by Member States as a consequence of conflicting interests.

Those in favour of creating a European army gave the following reasons for their choice:

- It would greatly enhance the efficiency with which security is provided in Europe
- It would make the EU a more credible and powerful global actor
- It would be more cost-effective
- It is the next step in pushing European integration forwards

Participants alluded to the rising powers in the world as well as threats such as from Russia and so-called IS requiring the EU to project its power and credibility through a joint army. The arguments most frequently given, however, were of a practical nature - namely saving money and becoming more efficient. While practical considerations were prevalent,

comments also indicated that a significant number of CSDP practitioners believed in further EU integration irrespective of the contemporary rise of Euroscepticism. Approximately one in five participants who were in favour of creating a European army mentioned that they believed this to be a necessary step in the pursuit of further integration. Furthermore, seven respondents' comments specifically alluded to a common army as a way of fostering a sense of identity and solidarity within the EU.

These responses were further supported by comments made during interviews. While the idea of a common European army was not included in the interview guide, it was mentioned during some interviews. From participants' responses it is clear that, practically speaking, many thought it would make sense to create a European army, but that there was still a lack of political will stopping such a move. A German training participant commented "I think on the one hand it is not yet possible to create a European army, but I think there is no way around this. […] It is vital that the armed forces work together and create new ways of cooperation, not only at the decision-making level, but also on a practical level. I think we won't be able to solve problems without a European army" (Interviewee 15, Germany). Other comments suggested that the ties between the armed forces and the nation-state remained key and at times prevented individuals from wanting to be part of such an army: "Most probably there will be a European army, but also national armies. I don't think there will be a pure European army" (Interviewee 31, Germany). Another interviewee stated that they could imagine there being a "European army, but only with my own uniform" (Interviewee 16, Lithuania).

These results once more highlighted the 'Catch 22' situation that seemed to affect European integration, and CSDP implementation in particular. There was widespread agreement that

further cooperation or integration would significantly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of security provision in Europe. However, at the same time individuals were very much aware of their country's interests and often found these to be incompatible with further cooperation or indeed integration.

The Future of European Security and Defence

The last aspect of the interview data providing an insight into study participants' views on the CSDP was comments relating to the future of security and defence in Europe.

Many interviewees voiced their support for increased cooperation from a practical point of view, often along the lines of this statement made by a course participant from Germany: "I think all states have to save money and scale down and one of the first things that is scaled down is usually defence […] It is vital that the armed forces work together and create new ways of cooperation, not only at the decision-making level, but also on a practical level." (Interviewee 15). However, they were also quick to point out that national governments, in particular France and the UK, wanted to retain control over their security, and therefore felt that there wouldn't be any big changes (Interviewee 35, French; Interviewee 24, Finnish). One interviewee was especially sceptical of progress on CSDP implementation:

> When you have 28 Member States, sovereign states with national interests, they will never be able to give these up. In order to reach some sort of integration, they would need to do this. I don't see that happening. I would rather see the other situation, slowly going back. The Schengen zone has unfortunately proved that it's

> not really working. Slowly we would have to go back to national states. (Interviewee 46, Slovakia)

Others suggested that European security cooperation would continue to be approached via the smallest common denominator and thus be characterised by "smaller missions, in a limited neighbourhood with limited mandates". The interviewee went on to argue that further integration was not desirable and could also not imagine working directly for the EU on security issues (Interviewee 51, German). Despite being confronted with the EU's narratives regarding increased security and defence cooperation during the training course and in their day-today work, some interviewees seemed reluctant to adopt a more EU-centric view of security and defence, either due to believing in its incompatibility with retaining national sovereignty or due to not believing in further integration of the EU on a personal level.

Many respondents perceived the political and security climate to be a "make or break" situation for the EU (Interviewee 6, Finland). One interviewee stated that they felt Europe was

> almost at a crossroads. There are certain missions which will continue because they are at a level where there is consensus. Creating new missions where countries have to find funding or personnel which are often specialists, I can see how that can be a problem. If there were three or more Paris-like attacks, you could see how things could radically alter. There are threats that could stop things from progressing. (Interviewee 43)

Another interviewee from Lithuania stated that "it depends on the problems now, like the refugees. Maybe in the near future all these countries will unite for one goal, to be one

country. The other way is that all countries return to within their own borders, like before Schengen" (Interviewee 18, Lithuanian). These perceived uncertainties led a number of interviewees to be unsure about the direction European security cooperation within the EU would take in the coming years.

There is no doubt that these opinions regarding the fragility of the EU were more pessimistic than those the EU was trying to transmit through its strategic documents. However, they reflected an awareness amongst CSDP practitioners that cooperation on security and defence matters was critical, even if it required a move away from pursuing EU-wide cooperation and towards "cooperation amongst the willing and able" Member States as suggested in the latest Strategy (EUGS, p. 47). Furthermore, it mirrored the more inward-looking stance taken in the EUGS, acknowledging that intra-European security was central to the survival of the EU and something that needed to be addressed in greater detail within the CSDP. Indeed, during informal conversations between course participants it was observed that the role of the EU in dealing with border issues as a result of the increase in refugees coming to Europe was one of the most frequently discussed topics. It was often debated whether the EU should be given powers to intervene in situations uninvited or whether securing borders ought to remain the sole responsibility of the Member States. Practitioners' views most often matched their domestic narratives on the subject and thus varied significantly amongst participants.

Perceived Key Messages Regarding the CSDP

When security practitioners were asked what key messages they were taking away from their training course, a significant number of responses related to the CSDP and its

implementation. This was quite a broad and direct question aiming to investigate how any key narratives were received by their target audiences without steering the interviewees in a certain direction through prompting or probing. This question also helped establish which course content had the biggest impact on participants and determine the extent to which the EU's strategic narratives were indeed perceived as key content and thus transmitted successfully.

Due to the variety of different training courses that formed part of this study, it must be said that responses to this question varied significantly. Young officers-in-training participating in Common Modules saw these residential courses mainly as opportunities to gain language skills and practical experience rather than a means to widen their knowledge of EU-related security matters. This reflects the nature of the format of these modules. While a couple of exchange opportunities are specifically aimed at raising awareness and knowledge of CSDP (namely the CSDP Common Module and the CSDP Olympiad), the majority of joint courses on offer only promote a common European approach to security and defence indirectly, by providing young recruits with opportunities to learn and bond with their European counterparts, much like the Erasmus programme does for students.

The goal of the CSDP Orientation Course and High-Level Module, which also formed part of this study, were however designed to directly communicate the CSDP and related strategic approaches to security practitioners. This approach would suggest that EU security and defence narratives should make up the core content of these courses.

With regards to specific CSDP narratives, one of the key messages many practitioners took away from the training events was that the CSDP continued to be interpreted differently amongst EU Member States and its implementation thus hinged on political will as

illustrated by this comment: ”The key message is that although it is not written anywhere, national interests is above everything for security” (Interviewee 27, Spanish). This notion was reinforced by a fellow Italian participant who believed that “the key message is that CSDP is one of the tools of the EU that could be effective, but basically is a tool, an opportunity and it very much depends on political will” (Interviewee 3). Another practitioner indicated that they did not expect any key messages to be transmitted through the training course as “that would be quite difficult, because all Member States have their own views on CSDP, which they will follow up when they get back to Brussels” (Interviewee 33, Irish). One participant felt one of the reasons that Member States approach the implementation of the CSDP so differently was because “there is a difference there between Germany and smaller countries. The bigger countries believe that if they give up power to the institutions, they will still have power, but the smaller countries are a bit afraid that the institutions are taking on power on behalf of the Member States” (Interviewee 38, Swedish). This complexity of national interests seemed to be highlighted during the training courses. A Dutch participant thus concluded that “to get them [the Member States] all in line and support an action, that is a challenge. I knew that before of course, but it is more emphasised now [after the course] (Interviewee 48, Dutch).

There were however also a number of participants who felt that the course communicated the benefits of increased cooperation, not only across Member States, but also amongst the different civilian and military actors involved in the implementation of the CSDP. A training participant from Austria noted that they “keep telling people how the military does it instead of looking at how others do it. […] The liberal approach to a problem is something that we, the military, could learn form. I take away to be much more interested in how they [non-military staff] do it instead of lecturing on how we do it” (Interviewee 36, Austrian).

The importance of increasing dialogue between different CSDP actors was also acknowledged by a fellow German practitioner (also military) who found that "the most important stuff is the networking. Meeting people from different countries and institutions. I am not so much interested in the content. It is a field where so much is changing and I am not so sure you can take any results form a course because of that" (Interviewee 34). These varied responses in relation to perceived key messages not only show that participants attend the training for very different reasons, but that these practitioners' motivations and attitudes towards EU security cooperation prior to attending largely determine what they perceive to be the courses' key messages. Only a small number of trainees took away key messages in line with the EU's key CSDP narratives suggesting that the CSDP and increased security and defence cooperation and integration are the best way forward. Others had become (more) disillusioned about the EU's approach to dealing with security and defence issues or were taking away personal benefits such as practical experience or language skills.

CSDP – Lacking a Common Strategic Vision?

However, in terms of content, many practitioners agreed that the courses provided them with a more detailed insight into the processes around putting the CSDP into action. This generally manifested itself in a realisation that the CSDP was still far from being fully implemented and very much dependent on political will in the individual Member States: "The CSDP can only be so much – depending on what extent the Member States are willing to go. If they have little political will then the policy cannot be very ambitious or effective" (Interviewee 53, Finnish). Another interviewee said that they had gained "awareness that CSDP decision-making is always very dependent on the opinions of Member States, trying to

get consensus what we should do. It was already clear before the course, but now it becomes even more clear" (Interviewee 49, Dutch). Furthermore, one respondent indicated that the course had made them realise that it was specifically a lack of financial support with regards to military operations that impeded CSDP implementation and hindered the EU from achieving its security goals (Interviewee 50, Slovakia).

While most interviewees felt that more political will and more pooling and sharing on the part of the Member States was needed in order achieve closer security cooperation, one security practitioner concluded from the training course that it was specifically creating a sense of community that was required as they thought that "every nation feels robbed of certain capabilities and they have to rely on other countries" due to increasing efforts towards pooling and sharing (Interviewee 15, German). In addition to becoming more aware of the difficulty of getting all Member States on board in an environment which requires fast decision-making, interviewees seemed to also take away from the courses that the EU still lacked a long-term strategic vision, which was summed up by one participant: "There is no real long-term thinking. The missions are short term and then get extended. There is no real vision" (Interviewee 38, Swedish). Another interviewee went into more detail stating that the EU wants to "go in as a fire brigade. We are not just the fire brigade; we are also the carpenter that restores the house. That's the different of approach, but the people don't see it that way" (Interviewee 48, Dutch).

This perceived lack of strategic vision by the EU was reflected in the participants' lack of awareness of the EU's strategy documents and indicates that up to that point, the EU had not sufficiently communicated its strategic vision to those who were tasked with its implementation. In addition to a perceived lack of strategy, numerous CSDP practitioners

also took away from the course that the EU remained very much a soft power. While one participant observed that the "CSDP is very much geared towards soft power. Real conflict the EU cannot handle; you can see it with the refugee crisis" (Interviewee 16, Lithuania), others held on to the view that NATO was the key security actor: "As long as NATO exists, the focus should be on NATO […] European nations are part of NATO, it's a very strong organisation for defending Europe. I don't see it would be the Union's role" (Interviewee 48, Dutch). These sentiments voiced immediately after the CSDP training courses seem to suggest that the EU had a way to go if it wanted to challenge existing security policy narratives and provide a coherent and consistent alternative to a national or NATO-focused outlook on security and defence provision in Europe.

Conclusion to Chapter 8 Section c)

Whereas study participants' overarching views on the role of the CSDP and EU security cooperation seemed positive and fairly compatible at first glance, it became obvious that significant differences existed in the interpretation of CSDP narratives. In summary, it can be said that many interviewees referred to recent crises, in particular the refugee crisis, as a defining moment for security and defence cooperation in Europe. Furthermore, while they displayed an understanding of practical considerations regarding security provision which would encourage increasing cooperation on security issues, study participants, who mainly worked for national governments, continued to make sense of security threats within a national context driven by their Member States' interests.

These attitudes indicate that further integration of EU security and defence through fully implementing the CSDP is not a dominant, and thus universally accepted strategic narrative

amongst security practitioners. While EU security cooperation provided one way of approaching security challenges, it was not (yet) considered a compelling and widely accepted sense-making framework for security and defence issues in Europe. Instead it acted as a supplementary narrative to existing ones based around national sovereignty and NATO cooperation. Moreover, the EU's projection of CSDP narratives during training courses was often perceived as inconsistent and lacking coherence.

Conclusion to Chapter 8: A Profile of Security Practitioners as Internal Receivers of CSDP-related Strategic Narratives

The premise of this research was that focus should not just be placed on how elites receive the EU's strategic narratives, but also how security practitioners at all levels respond. As such, study participants were recruited from all levels of seniority and from many different Member States as well as from both civilian and military backgrounds. While it is impossible and imprudent to make any generalisations about the participants as a whole, it is worth profiling a few to highlight some of the main findings concerning individuals' notions of European identity and their views on European security and defence cooperation. When examining the interviewees' responses regarding their attitudes towards Europe and the future of European security and defence, three main attitudes became apparent. The majority of interview participants (approximately 52%) seemed to take a 'realist stance' which saw the integration of European security and defence as necessary in order to best serve and protect national interests. Seventeen interviewees could be considered 'integrationist' – they openly voiced their desire for closer security and defence cooperation and supported more integration within the EU. 20% of interviewees shared their 'scepticism' regarding the European project. They were either disillusioned from personal experiences of working for the EU and gaining a deeper understanding of the way in which the EU works, or a more general negative attitude towards European integration stemming from a perceived lack of common interests and differing approaches to security and defence provision.

Three participants have been chosen to reflect this wide variety of opinions across the sample of security practitioners and their responses to several key questions will be highlighted below.

1) The ‘Realist’: Security Practitioner new to CSDP – Participant in a CSDP Orientation Course

CSDP Orientation Courses are aimed at mid-level staff who may have previous security policy experience but are relatively new to CSDP. This participant from an Eastern European country would have first experienced being a EU citizen as a teenager.

Despite their appreciation of the personal benefits of being a European citizen, the participant did not believe that further European integration was the way forward. Instead, they felt that national interests were the only determining factor on security and defence matters.

Moreover, the participant’s understanding of European identity was rather realist and limited to personal experiences:

> Well, I think it's our homeland and because we, the younger generation, we are already used to moving around without borders. We have our national identity, but we also have a European identity, maybe without realising. What is then the platform for a common identity? I think there is none. There are so many national positions. […] A European identity really is just something that needs to come with really young people who travel. The older generation don't feel like that. They don't see any positive side. Things like human trafficking, drugs, and so on, we didn't have before. But the younger generation like travelling and studying abroad, finding a job abroad. European identity exists, but we only turn into its direction when it suits us.

With regards to the future of European integration, they said that they were

> very, very sceptical. When you have 28 Member states, sovereign states with national interests, they will never be able to give these up. […] I would rather see the other situation, slowly going back. The Schengen zone has unfortunately proved that it's not really working.

The future of European security and defence was also hanging in the balance due to seemingly incompatible interests:

> There are so many national positions. With 28 states, it is so difficult to come to any decision on issues. Slovakia for example, many people in Slovakia don't even know where the countries are that the EU wants to send missions to. So, we will never be able to share the same interests. There is no motivation to do so. Or when you look at the migrant crisis. I think it's another split in the EU. It started with quotas, but then in Eastern Europe we never participated in operations which count as the roots of the crisis. So now we are asking why we should deal with the aftermath now?

They also had "a bit of a problem" with the idea of a common European security culture as they didn't feel the "environment was right" in their country and the EU lacked a road map for reaching consensus among all Member States.

Despite being a relatively young security practitioner who appreciated the personal benefits of being an EU citizen, she had not developed a European integration identity. Rather, she believed that European integration had gone as far as it could, and if anything, should be reversed. For her, national interests remained the sole driving force behind security policy decision-making and there seemed to be no sense of 'sitting in the same boat' with the rest of Europe.

> This attitude towards Europe, appreciating the freedoms of being an EU citizen, but not really displaying any sense of going beyond the national level when it comes to security and defence was fairly common amongst younger security practitioners. Many expressed little interest in taking a European perspective. More experienced staff often fell into one of two categories: through experience, many appreciated the complexities of today's security threats and the need for cooperation and integration at European level in order to provide adequate levels of security. Others seemed somewhat disillusioned with the EU as a security provider and the pursuit of further integration as a result of their work with or for the EU. Both of these views are explored in the profiles below.

2) 'The integrationist': Experienced Security Practitioner - Participant in a High-Level Course Module

Participants in the High-Level Course are considered to be senior experts in leadership positions or with leadership potential. Many participants like this one have often worked substantially in a European environment and gained experience of dealing with security and defence issues at EU level prior to participation in the training courses.

This military participant from a Western European country had a strong sense of European integration identity and believed that further cooperation and integration was the only way forward to make the EU a safer place:

> The challenges are much bigger than nations or states can deal with, not even the biggest ones. I am not just talking about military challenges, the environment,

> climate challenge is not something that one country can deal with. […] The EU is still way too complicated. We need to let go of national sovereignty and thereby we will create a stronger Europe.

Despite this conviction that further integration is necessary, the practitioner was aware of current internal struggles potentially having the power to undermine any further integration: “We could see the EU developing in a completely different direction with nationality taking over again. And therefore […] we have to work on it, forcefully and confront all those who are hindering it and slowing it down. This is the solution of the problem.”

While they displayed a strong sense of European integration identity, this was also coupled with the conviction that NATO should play a central role in European security and defence as the EU’s “defence ministry” and provider of a security culture that is currently missing: “We have a common culture in the military that is created by NATO. We all learn our standards from NATO and then we apply it in the EU. I am embarrassed to see we have no common culture between the police and the military”.

In addition to displaying a strong European integration identity, they also felt that a more general, but less tangible European identity existed:

> It is rather difficult because we are rather well developed and national pride and sovereignty matter, but when you look at it from a distance, it's good to see that there is a European identity when you go shopping in Milano, in Vienna, in Helsinki […]. Or you look at security policy. You just need to read the European security strategy and the American strategy. You see the identity. We do it comprehensively. We do not speak of forcing our will on anybody, or pre-emptive strikes. We talk of

> local ownership. Yes, there is a European identity. It's not listed in a way that every politician, every actor could name it, but it's certainly there. A vision.

Having experienced working to implement the CSDP first-hand, this interviewee felt strongly about further integrating security and defence at EU level (and extending cooperation with NATO).

3) 'The sceptic': Experienced Security Practitioner - Participant in a High-Level Course Module

While some experienced security practitioners have clearly developed a sense of European integration identity, others have become disillusioned with the EU. One practitioner went so far as to say: "My views on Europe on the EU have possibly become hardened because I actually know more and I came with an open mind but it's every turn, every single turn I get to understand how inept Europe as an organisation is". They go on to state that they believe the work they carry out makes a difference

> in spite of the EU institutions, not because of, in spite of them because there are so many different voices. You never go to a meeting with one voice, you undermine each other rather than support each other […]. All Member States look after their national interests first and foremost. We've seen that with the migration crisis. It comes down to strategy. We don't have a unified strategy. […] They have very different threat perceptions. The Western European countries have not been listening to the Eastern European countries. Do we look to self-interests before anything else? Absolutely. The Greek debt crisis is a good example.

As a result, they believe that a common European security culture is far from being a reality because “when it comes to implementing anything around common security is that we fall to the lowest common denominator instead of raising best European standard”.

They also conclude that a shared European identity does not exist: “There are a number of people, members of Member States who think it exists, but the UK certainly doesn't think there is one. I personally don't think there is one. […] I don't see myself as a European. There are so many different cultures within Europe […]”.

This practitioners’ views show that despite working on European security and defence, they have not developed any sense of European identity through secondments to Eastern Europe. Instead, they discovered how approaches to security and defence differ between Eastern and Western European Member States and how a seeming lack of understanding of these makes a common identity and security culture nigh impossible. Combined with no sense of a European identity based around personal benefits, it becomes evident that the interviewee does not display a sense of European integration identity.

While this may seem like a rather negative example, a number of interviewees revealed that they, too, had become disillusioned with the way EU institutions functioned as a result of their work and showed little signs of a European identity connected to EU institutions. This disillusionment seems to reinforce the prevalent sentiments of dissatisfaction with EU bureaucracy amongst the European public.

Overall, it can be said that only a small number of study participants displayed a European integration identity. This could however not be specifically attributed to being a result of their work.

CHAPTER 9: Reflections

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings of this thesis and situates these within a wider theoretical as well as practical context. Furthermore, it reflects on the research process, points out the limitations of the study and makes suggestions for possible future research.

This thesis set out to investigate notions of European identity amongst European security practitioners and their views of EU security and defence cooperation under the CSDP. A content analysis of the two European Security Strategies was used to assess the EU's efforts to communicate a sense of European identity to security practitioners. In order to capture individuals' views and determine whether a sense of 'European integration identity' is emerging amongst EU practitioners, an online survey was carried out prior to their participation in ESDC-coordinated training courses and EMILYO modules, and interviews with participants were conducted at six different courses.

The data collected from CSDP training participants included 195 online questionnaires as well as 60 in-depth interviews that took place during or straight after ESDC-coordinated training courses and involved 3 CSDP Orientation Courses, a CSDP High Level Course module and two EMILYO training courses, thus covering a wide range of security practitioners (both in seniority, nationality and areas of work). By combining these two research methods an insight into security practitioners' opinions could be gained and followed up with more in-depth data regarding the impact of EU-level strategic communication of security narratives on individuals' understandings of the EU.

This study was carried out to answer the following research questions:

1. In what way are CSDP training courses contributing to the creation of a common European identity amongst European security practitioners? To what extent is the EU an effective projector of strategic narratives on an intra-European level?
2. In how far is a common security culture emerging amongst those implementing the CSDP?
3. To what extent do security practitioners support greater cooperation/ further integration of European security and defence?

The research was based around the hypothesis that despite increasing efforts to integrate CSDP training to create cohesion and a sense of common identity amongst CSDP practitioners, notions of national identity and interests continue to prevail and determine CSDP implementation. However, it was also believed that while national considerations may continue to dominate, working on EU policy implementation, and in particular participating in EU-level training would, over time, facilitate the emergence of a common security culture and a certain 'we-feeling' amongst CSDP practitioners based on cultural as well as civic identity components, thus resulting in the creation of a European integration identity defined as “a sense of belonging to a group of citizens who share values and a vision of the future and believe that the EU is the best tool for achieving the group’s goals” as defined in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Furthermore, it was hypothesised that the networking and socialisation aspects of the training activities would play an important role in this process alongside the formal communication of EU security and defence narratives.

While a detailed response to each of the research questions can be found below, the main findings of this thesis can be summed up as follows: national interests and a sense of national identity prevail amongst the majority of security practitioners and determine their

views on EU security and defence. While the training courses manage to raise some much needed awareness regarding the CSDP and create opportunities for participants to learn about different European perspectives, they fail to clearly project European identity narratives in a security and defence context. This is largely due to the structure of the training courses and also the EU's failure to clearly communicate its strategic vision (at least prior to the release of the EUGS). Most training participants felt uncomfortable and/or confused by the term 'common European security culture' and often interpreted it as a 'common understanding' of security. There was consensus that this was a long-term goal which was far from being a reality. Almost all practitioners agreed that the complexity of security threats required European cooperation (as long as it served national interests), but many saw the EU's role as a soft power complementary to the hard power provided by NATO. Each research question is addressed in more detail below.

Research Question 1: Is a Common European Identity Emerging and What Role Does CSDP Training Play?

In response to Research Question 1, it can be said that national interests remain the key driver behind cooperation at EU level. While there seemed to be a certain level of identification with the EU and its values that could be considered part of an emergent European integration identity, this was restrained by national considerations, especially in a security and defence context. Only a very small number of practitioners displayed a 'strong' European identity in line with Kantner's definition. The surveys showed that CSDP practitioners believed one of the key aspects of 'being a citizen of the EU' was having common ideals and they generally felt their own values matched what they perceived to be ones representing the EU (Democracy, Human Rights and the Rule of Law). Interviews also

revealed that course participants deemed they shared values with fellow Europeans, often citing that similarities became apparent when comparing them to other, non-European ones.

Despite this, it became evident that the creation of a European integration identity or a European security culture through the EU's security strategies and joint training programmes is a long-term objective rather than a short-term reality. The majority of study participants recognise the complexities of security threats and acknowledge the need to cooperate (further) on security and defence matters, but only as long as this coincides with their national interests. When contemporary and ongoing issues such as the irregular migration crisis were discussed, it was particularly obvious that many individuals felt that values in different parts of Europe were diverging. Rather than mentioning common values with fellow Europeans, interviewees frequently stated that they appreciated the personal benefits that came with being an EU citizen, such as freedom of movement and the ability to work abroad which enabled them to easily experience other cultures and feel 'at home' in all of Europe.

That is not to say that the EU's strategic documents and common training initiatives have no impact on security practitioners. This thesis has shown that there is still little knowledge of the EU's role as a security provider and its vision for the future amongst many practitioners. The EU's projection of EU security narratives makes a considerable contribution to raising awareness of both.

Situating Security Practitioners' Notions of European Identity within a Wider Theoretical Context

This thesis contributes to European identity theory in a number of ways. Firstly, to research notions of identity empirically, it uses Kantner and Bruter's models of European identity to produce a definition of 'European integration identity'. This narrows down an otherwise largely fluid and vast field of European identity studies and makes it relevant to the context of European security and defence integration: "individuals' recognition not only of being part of an EU we_2 commercium, a community that facilitates the pursuit of individual nation's desires and purposes, but this is accompanied by a sense of belonging to a group of citizens who share values and a vision of the future and believe that the EU is the best tool for achieving the group's goals" (see Chapter 3). This thesis acknowledges that there is a difference between 'feeling European' and supporting the integration of policy-making (such as security and defence) at EU level. However, it suggests that a combination of cultural aspects (such as peace, harmony, the fading of historical divisions and co-operation between similar people and cultures) and civic components (such as borderlessness, circulation of citizens, prosperity) (Bruter, 2004, p. 36) need to be taken into consideration when examining European security practitioners. This is because EU practitioners are in a unique position where they not only experience the civic aspects of being European. Through having a common European Security Strategy which sets out European values and interests and working with fellow European practitioners they are also exposed to the cultural components of European identity.

Secondly, this thesis has determined that amongst CSDP practitioners notions of European identity currently only play a very minor role in their professional capacities. Instead, national interests prevail and a sense of European identity mostly manifests itself as feeling

European through enjoying personal benefits such as democracy, free travel and work mobility. This reflects findings from Bruter's 2003 study in which he determined that notions of a 'civic European identity' were a lot more common amongst individuals than ones based around cultural components (*ibid*).

Moreover, this study amongst security practitioners has shown that Kantner's analysis regarding the state of a European identity from 2006 is still largely valid ten years later. Security practitioners largely seem to find themselves in a 'we $_2$ commercium' group where "everyone follows their own idiosyncratic desires and purposes" and sees the group as "a club or neighbourhood" rather than "a family" (which she calls 'we$_2$ communio') (Kantner, 2006, p. 8). Furthermore, cooperation at EU level is perceived to be beneficial for achieving personal goals rather than as a manifestation of a shared self-understanding (*ibid*, p. 512).

However, it should be acknowledged that the timing of the data collection may have had an impact on potential progress from a 'we $_2$ commercium' to a 'we$_2$ communio' group. Not only was the preparation of the EUGS in its final stages, the data collection took place only a few months after David Cameron won the UK General Election having promised a referendum on EU membership. Informal discussions largely evolved around the possibility of the first Member State leaving the EU. Furthermore, this coincided with the height of the irregular migration crisis and the decision by some Member States to close their borders. Opposing views on how to deal with the situation were not only much discussed in the media, but also featured heavily during the training courses. These developments seemed to create a palpable atmosphere of uncertainty, insecurity and a certain level of division amongst participants, which was further amplified by the terror attacks in Paris taking place during one of the training courses. Instead of the Euro crisis, the irregular migration crisis

and the Brexit referendum being perceived as collective European experiences (and thereby creating a 'we$_2$ communio' group amongst Europeans according to Kantner), these events led to a reinforced sense of national identity amongst participants.

Parallel Eurobarometer results regarding respondents' optimism about the future of the EU from the end of 2015 and 2016 reflect these sentiments somewhat, as they show a dip in optimism to one of the lowest points since the first time this question was asked in 2007 (45% fairly optimistic compared to 44% at the end of 2011). However, this pessimism seems to have been short-lived as by the end of 2018 the public's outlook had improved again to 52% being fairly optimistic (Standard Eurobarometer 89).

However, follow-up research is needed to further investigate the short-term and enduring impact of major events major historical event "either catastrophic or fortunate" (Kantner, 2006, p. 513) on European identity and the extent to which these can reinforce a sense of national identity instead. This would also contribute further insights into the possibility of a 'we$_2$ communio' group emerging amongst EU practitioners in the future.

Research Question 2: Is a Common Security Culture Emerging Amongst Practitioners?

With regards to Research Question 2, it can be said that the EU's endeavour to foster a common European security culture was frequently discussed as it was part of the ESDC's rhetoric on regarding the purpose of CSDP training. Not only did training participants often have no concept of what this meant, most also felt it was far from being a reality despite acknowledging that the complexity of security threats required a common approach. Many interpreted it simply as a common understanding of security and defence issues. While the

training course seemed to create awareness of the CSDP (which judging from interview remarks wasn't extensive previously), individuals often felt the way the training courses were run, but also the interactions between participants highlighted the different national/regional approaches to security and defence in Europe. Almost all study participants were of the opinion that a common European security culture was at least a few decades away from existing. One aspect that the majority of practitioners agreed upon was an acknowledgement that security issues are too complex for individual nations to deal with on their own and that multilateral cooperation was the only way forward. Furthermore, the EU's comprehensive approach was recognised by most practitioners as the best way to confront security issues and more cooperation between civilian and military staff was deemed essential for an effective EU foreign policy.

The Effectiveness of the EU's Internal Projection of Strategic Narratives

With regards to the EU's communication of strategic narratives through its security strategies and CSDP-related training courses, there are three key findings. Firstly, up until the release of the EUGS, the EU struggled to communicate clear and coherent messages regarding its strategic vision that had the power to compel Member States to fully implement the CSDP. While the EUGS was less vague and there has been some renewed impetus to advance European security and defence cooperation, it remains to be seen whether this trend continues.

Secondly, the nature of ESDC courses fittingly reflects the (intergovernmental) nature of the EU, but also makes consistent and cohesive communication difficult. Its virtual character and network structure reflect the character of the EU well – voluntary participation and

consensus are key attributes and ensure that all members are able to shape the content of training courses in a democratic manner. Despite their largely standardised curricula, courses are hosted and delivered by the ESDC Member Organisations rather than ESDC staff themselves. This means the hosts and the speakers they select have a significant amount of freedom regarding the actual content of the individual training sessions. As observed in this study this, at times, leads to interpretations focusing too much on national interests and content lacking coherence, resulting in the EU appearing to speak with too many voices instead of having a clear EU-centric narrative. The residential nature of the courses, however, is quite efficient at bringing together CSDP practitioners from all over Europe that may not otherwise meet. This not only makes a community that is arguably too large to imagine more tangible, but the networking components have the potential to reinforce the notion of 'sitting in the same boat and sailing in the same direction' as well as bridging the civilian-military divide, thus facilitating a more 'comprehensive approach'.

Thirdly, the informal aspects of the residential training courses are by many considered the most important aspect as they provide crucial networking opportunities which have the potential not only to create bonds between Europeans, but also to foster a truly comprehensive approach by bringing together civilian and military practitioners.

What do These Findings Mean for the Creation of a Common Security Culture through CSDP Training?

While many practitioners stated that a common security culture was a long-term goal rather than ruling out the prospect of its emergence altogether, the prevalence of serving and protecting national interests amongst practitioners seemed a considerable obstacle to any

such efforts. Furthermore, while practitioners displayed certain notions of European identity (mainly linked to personal benefits of being part of the EU), they did not seem to develop a 'European integration identity' through their work. This would suggest that rather than only focussing on a common European security culture at this stage, emphasis should also be placed on 'Europeanising' national outlooks on security and defence. This would mean creating greater awareness of the impact of being part of the EU on national security matters. On the one hand, this requires continuing and strengthening efforts to raise awareness of CSDP through the training courses. The EU's communication of its strategic narratives could be improved by going one step beyond developing standardised curricula. By delivering course content centrally and solely by EU representatives rather than national experts the ESDC would ensure that messages are communicated clearly and coherently and national framing was presented in a balanced way. On the other hand, more knowledge of European integration is required. While the majority of practitioners realise that their country cannot deal with security issues on their own, more awareness could be created regarding the implications of current levels of European integration and their impact on security and defence issues at a national level. One way of achieving this would be through more training courses taking place in Brussels and including familiarisation activities with other EU institutions. By gaining a better understanding of the EU as a whole, practitioners will develop greater awareness of the interconnectedness of national and EU policy-making.

View of the EU as a Security Provider

Prior to CSDP training, the majority of security practitioners indicated that they believed they had a good understanding of the CSDP and deemed their knowledge of the ESS to be

fair. While participants felt their knowledge of CSDP to be better than of EU political processes in general, they were most comfortable with the role of NATO. While these results suggest that CSDP practitioners had a decent knowledge of EU security and defence overall, they also indicate that participants were much more familiar with NATO as a security provider. Based on this knowledge, they rated the EU as a 'somewhat credible' security provider. Furthermore, subsequent ranking of perceived priorities for the EU indicate that multilateral cooperation with NATO, the UN, and others, and the use of non-coercive force were key to security practitioners. The view of the EU being (and remaining) a soft power was widespread. The in-depth interviews that followed revealed one of the most surprising findings of this thesis – the actual lack of knowledge about the CSDP amongst interviewees. Despite over 40% of survey respondents indicating that their knowledge of the CSDP was 'good' (and a further 34% rating it as 'fair'), many interviewees indicated they had very little or no knowledge of (the existence of) the CSDP. Furthermore, many voiced confusion over the role of the EU in relation to NATO. The EU's recognition of this issue was reflected in the 2016 EUGS, which was subsequently released. It outlines more clearly the relationship the EU envisages with NATO, thus acknowledging and addressing the confusion that seems to exist amongst the public and security practitioners regarding their respective remits. This is evidence of the EU's 'listening process' that accompanied the drafting of the EUGS and highlights the reciprocal relationship between the projection, reception and formation of strategic narratives.

Research Question 3: How do Security Practitioners View the Future of European Security and Defence?

The main findings in relation to Research Question 3 are that there were three different camps amongst training participants. A small number of participants were great supporters of the European project and further integration of European security and defence. Yet, the majority of practitioners took a realist stance centred on protecting the interests of their national governments. Further integration was seen positively as long as it aided national interests. A small number of study participants were against further integration and indeed voiced a preference for matters of security and defence to be dealt with solely at the national level.

It is often argued that the feeling of 'going in the same direction' is a crucial aspect of a shared sense of identity and when asked about the future of European security and defence, it became obvious that many individuals believed there was a lack of common vision. While the majority of survey participants indicated that their own countries' priorities largely matched those of the EU, it was during the interviews that reservations about further integration were voiced. Many suggested that the biggest obstacles to creating a truly common vision were the Member States' differing threat perceptions and the supremacy of national interests. They thus concluded that cooperation often had to be based on finding the smallest common denominator and regional or selective cooperation and integration amongst EU Member States was usually favoured over an approach encompassing all 28. These views mirror the sentiments widely observed prior to the release of the EUGS.

Situating EU Security Practitioners' Views within a Wider Context

No other data exists that would allow direct comparisons of attitudes and views amongst security practitioners. However, the above findings are largely in line with more general views expressed in the Eurobarometer survey conducted with members of the general European public at the same time (Standard Eurobarometer 84, November 2015). Participants stipulated a decent general knowledge of the EU's processes and an appreciation of the need for European security and defence cooperation and integration. In the Standard Eurobarometer Survey, survey respondents rated their knowledge of how the EU works at a record high (55% indicated they understood how the EU works, compared to 42% who didn't and 3% who expressed no opinion) (EB84.3, p. 120). Furthermore, support for having the CSDP remained high (it has been above 70% ever since the question was first asked in 1999 and in 2018 sat at 75%) (*ibid*.). While a large majority of security practitioners acknowledged the benefits of European security cooperation and integration in principle, they indicated that national interests very much remained at the forefront of their work, and often resulted in support for cooperation efforts being restricted to the 'smallest common denominator' rather than pursuing a truly common approach. These views suggest, perhaps surprisingly, that those involved in the implementation of the CSDP are not necessarily as enthusiastic about it as the general public.

Furthermore, this study amongst CSDP practitioners suggests that while they recognised the need for cooperation at EU level, they stopped short of seeing the EU as a fully-fledged security and defence provider.

European Security and Defence since the Launch of the EUGS

Security and defence cooperation has seen a number of significant developments since the release of the EUGS. The interview with Tocci conducted as part of this thesis gave a valuable insight into the EU's strategic vision and the consultation process behind it. In addition to giving fresh impetus due to its more pragmatic, somewhat less vague approach to European security and defence cooperation, the EUGS, to a large extent, reflects practitioners' visions for security and defence cooperation. Through the creation of the European Defence Fund for example, which offers funding to enable collaborations between at least three Member States, the EU is encouraging smaller scale cooperation on defence matters. The MPCC, the newly created counterpart to the Civilian Planning and CPCC on the other hand seeks to make non-executive military missions more coherent and efficient and by closely working with the CPCC, further develop the EU's comprehensive approach, streamlining its structures to make it more attractive externally as well as more appealing to utilise by Member States.

In addition to renewed calls for a 'European army' by various politicians including Macron and Merkel in 2018 and 2019, there have also been changes within some Member States. After decades of spending cuts and force reductions, Germany and France have announced that their military budgets will see a significant increase over the next few years (to reflect 1.5% and 2% of their GDPs respectively by 2025) and Germany is also looking to recruit another 21,000 soldiers by 2025 (that would signify an increase of more than 15% since the release of the EUGS). Furthermore, Germany's Army General Inspector has also suggested that the Bundeswehr may consider a 'Europeanisation' of its staff by allowing the recruitment EU citizens into military positions. While these developments have only just been set into motion, they reflect a changing atmosphere in the international security

environment. This is largely driven by Trump and his demands for EU countries to meet the NATO defence budget target, the US pulling out of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty and increased aggression from Russia. It is further aggravated by the uncertain future cooperation with the UK after its departure from the EU amongst other factors. Forthcoming 2019 EU Parliamentary elections and the subsequent appointment of new EU Commissioners and the High Representative will also have an impact on the immediate future of security and defence cooperation in Europe. Furthermore, it is clear that this interplay between external factors and internal developments will have a significant impact on the CSDP not only in the short-term, but also in its overall long-term direction.

The Usefulness of the Strategic Narrative Framework for Analysing Notions of European Identity amongst Security Practitioners

This thesis employed a strategic narrative framework exploring the internal communication and reception of EU security and defence narratives to European security practitioners participating in CSDP training courses. Using this framework enabled the researcher to evaluate the EU's discourse on the CSDP and its effectiveness at narrating this, as well as to investigate the importance of personal experiences on the notion of European identity. While strategic narrative research typically looks at the bigger picture, i.e. international actors' behaviour as a whole, this study chose to focus on individuals' attitudes towards EU policy implementation and the European integration project.

Overall, the concept of strategic narrative communication proved a useful analytical framework for assessing the emergence of a European integration identity amongst CSDP practitioners. Looking at how and why narratives are formed, how they are projected and in turn received highlighted the reciprocity between the EU decision-makers and practitioners.

Findings from analysing strategic documents and the data collected from surveys and interviews confirmed that identity formation is not simply a top-down undertaking but is very much influenced by individuals. However, analysing the projection of security narratives in a training environment also underlined the importance of other identity-building processes that occur simultaneously. The informal interaction with fellow Europeans and experiencing Europe through residential courses, thus going beyond the 'imagined community' was considered by participants to be one of the most positive aspects and represents a vital aspect of identity-building amongst security practitioners.

The Security Strategies set out a vision for European cooperation on security and defence matters. They are a response to long-term trends in security threats, but rather than being purely reactive they take a proactive approach to security provision. However, during the data collection phase, whenever security-related events occurred, such as terrorist attacks, the refugee crisis and the impending Brexit referendum, it seemed paradoxically to somewhat interfere with the strategic narrative communication process. These issues were frequently discussed by course participants, revealing notable differences in opinion between individuals, often reflecting how events had been framed in national media. While some agreed that joint efforts were required to tackle these security crises, many remarked how such events highlighted the differences between the different Member States and their approaches to security provision. These observations suggest that in times of crisis, a certain framing of events (often national in character) becomes prevalent and influences not only how European strategic narratives are received by individuals, but also how individuals perceive a sense of 'we-ness' with fellow Europeans. Moreover, they emphasise the need to

take a holistic approach to strategic narrative analysis that looks at the context in which strategic narrative communication takes place.

Employing the concept of strategic narratives to investigate the emergence of a sense of European integration identity amongst security practitioners has served to highlight the challenge the EU faces in trying to develop a more unified voice. Competing with national narratives projected in a domestic media setting is difficult and while security and defence narratives largely resonate with practitioners, national interests play a significant role in determining the extent to which they are adopted. Using a concept that focuses on communication processes was vital when analysing a concept as complex as identity. The notion of a European identity is fluid, often interpreted in different ways and used in different contexts. Honing in on a specific aspect of European identity, the impact of strategic security narratives on supporting European integration as a manifestation of sharing values and visions with fellow Europeans rendered a somewhat abstract concept more tangible.

One aspect that proved somewhat difficult to investigate due to the chosen policy area was the three different levels of narrative: international system, identity and issue/policy-specific narratives. In this case it was difficult to differentiate between them as this thesis investigated narratives regarding the CSDP which is a policy area closely interlinked with and connected to views of the international system. It is often argued, however, that overlap between the different narrative levels is common and serves to demonstrate the importance of interconnectedness between narratives in order to be perceived as coherent and comprehensive. Indeed, the majority of study participants were of the opinion that the complexity of security issues requires a joint response, making the CSDP an attractive tool

for security provision. But many stopped short of adopting the view that further cooperation and integration of EU defence was more important that pursuing their national interests.

The Importance of Personal Experiences for the Reception of Strategic Narratives

The concept of strategic narratives was useful for exploring emerging notions of European integration identity amongst security practitioners. However, it was also hypothesised that when looking at how notions of identity are shaped at the level of the individual, it is important to include another consideration when studying the reception of strategic narratives – personal filters such as previous exchange experiences, frequency of interactions with fellow Europeans, and the importance of informal networking opportunities were all touched upon in this study. While this is not an exhaustive list of potential influencing factors, they enabled a basic assessment of the role that personal experiences play in the reception of narratives. However, the data collected as part of this study showed that individuals linked positive personal experiences relating to the EU, such as freedom of movement, being able to experience other cultures and better standards of living to a greater appreciation of the EU, indicating that these experiences may also contribute towards a sense of European identity. These connections were frequently made during interviews. However, results from the online survey indicate that the only experience having an impact on respondents was previous exchange experiences. Frequent interactions with fellow European security practitioners did not result in a more pro-European outlook.

The results from the survey would suggest that somewhat surprisingly and with potentially important implications, survey participants had not acquired a more pronounced identification with Europe through regular interactions with European colleagues and there was no indication that they were developing any notions of a 'European integration identity' as a result of these. The in-depth interviews, however, offered a counter-balance and revealed that connecting with fellow European practitioners was for many a key aspect of the CSDP training courses. Interviewees reported that they had gained more awareness and understanding of different European perspectives. While for some this meant they noticed commonalities, others had started noticing rifts. Some interview participants reported that they felt views diverged when talking to colleagues from other regions of Europe (i.e. South vs. North, East vs. West). Ideally this thesis would have included an analysis of data according to these parameters (potentially also a comparison between old and new Member States). This would have required a more careful sample selection to achieve an acceptable geographical spread of nationalities and added significant time onto the data collection and analysis phase, something which was not feasible due to the constraints of this thesis. However, examining notions of European identity amongst practitioners according to these variations is an interesting project for postdoctoral research. At the same time, further research is required into whether there really is neither a positive nor a negative impact on notions of European identity amongst practitioners who had very frequent contact with fellow Europeans (despite many interview participants stating that the interaction with fellow Europeans was the most important aspect of the CSDP training courses). Due to the scope of this thesis, the survey and interview questions were merely able to provide a small insight into this. Yet, a comparison of security practitioners working for an EU institution with those working for national bodies may indicate whether

supranational decision-making is required for the emergence of a sense of European integration identity and a common security culture.

While it is difficult to measure the impact of 'personal frames' on the reception of strategic narratives especially in a quantitative way, it is important to acknowledge their existence and consider their potential implications when investigating individuals' roles in the narrative communication process.

Reflections on the Research Process – Limitations and Ideas for Future Research

This thesis has made a rare contribution to the study of Strategic Narratives as it provided an empirical application of the framework, generating a substantial amount of data in relation to the EU's internal communication processes which served to highlight the reciprocal relationship between the formation, projection and reception of strategic narratives and the role of the individuals involved in this process. Analysing two EU strategy documents and assessing how their content had been changed and adapted over time provided a detailed insight into the formation of narratives. By pairing this with interviews and surveys with practitioners in-between the release of the two documents, this research was able to highlight practitioners' contributions to the formation of narratives. While some researcher observations from the training courses were included in this study, thus providing additional insights into the projection of narratives, this research method did not constitute a formal part of the data collection. Time constraints did not allow the researcher to observe all training courses in a systematic manner as interviews were at times scheduled to clash with some sessions. Furthermore, adding another set of data to the study would

have gone beyond its scope. This meant that observations were anecdotal rather than empirically rigorous, but still provided an insight into the EU's projection of strategic narratives in practice. While many courses had standardised curricula, at times the actual content of individual sessions varied somewhat from what was promised on paper. Thus, future research into the communication of strategic narratives during training courses would benefit from a more detailed analysis of the actual course content.

Nevertheless, choosing to conduct research at CSDP training courses served as a unique platform for investigating the projection and reception of narratives. Many studies focus on elites or senior decision-making staff as the group of people who determine the implementation of policies. However, gathering data from all levels of seniority gave a holistic insight into security practitioners' views towards cooperation and integration, thus not only providing a snapshot of those at the top, but everyone involved, as well as presenting an indication of how potential future leaders' opinions are shaped by the EU's strategic narratives.

While it was surprising how unaware some security practitioners were of the CSDP in general and more specifically the ESS, no detailed probing into their actual knowledge was undertaken due to the limited scope of this study. Further research into practitioners' familiarity with EU strategy would thus be useful, as it would not only test the EU's internal strategic communication further, it would also shed more light on the relationship between strategy makers and practitioners in more detail.

Research into security practitioners' feelings towards the EU and security and defence cooperation is scarce despite the EU's continued efforts to create a sense of European identity for security and defence cooperation. Prior to the data collection phase, it was

envisaged that follow-up research would be carried out approximately six to nine months after the initial surveys and interviews were conducted. The purpose of such a follow-up would have been two-fold: first, data would have been gathered regarding practitioners' awareness and knowledge of CSDP matters. This would have enabled direct comparisons pre- and post CSDP training and may have indicated any progression that had occurred through work or training activities. Attitudes towards the EUGS could also have been recorded. Second, follow-up research could have investigated whether the networking and bonding between European security practitioners and across the civil-military spectrum had had a lasting impact and whether it had contributed to the emergence of a common security culture.

By continuing in this way, more robust data on the notion of an emergent European integration identity could have been collected. While the scope of this thesis did not allow such an extensive second data collection phase, this research could still be carried out subsequently and would serve to further improve the EU's internal strategic communication processes.

Final Thoughts

The main focus of this thesis was to consider whether the EU's strategic narratives were successful at fostering a European integration identity, defined as "a sense of belonging to a group of citizens who share values and a vision of the future and believe that the EU is the best tool for achieving the group's goals" (Chapter 2). This thesis produced a rare and unique set of data, which found that while practitioners displayed notions of European identity, these were not a 'European integration identity' as they did not manifest

themselves through their professional opinions. Rather, the pursuit of national interests defined individuals' views regarding EU security cooperation and integration. Furthermore, it applied strategic narrative theory in an internal communication context in order to trace the EU's efforts at creating a common security culture through standardised CSDP training courses.

The data collection took place at a time of significant changes. While the new EUGS was already taking shape, the full strategy had not yet been released. Subsequently, its impact on the implementation of the CSDP could not be foreseen and its reception by security practitioners could not be measured. However, some significant progress has since been made in terms of further integrating European security and defence through tools such as the Permanent Structured Cooperation and the European Defence Fund. Subsequent research regarding the reception of the EUGS and the new mechanisms created to facilitate further integration is thus required to reassess practitioner views on the EU being the best tool to achieve common goals. This study has established a benchmark against which the impact of these new CSDP initiatives can be fruitfully measured.

In addition, the EU's internal identity struggles have deepened due to the continuing irregular migrant crisis, the impending Brexit and an increase in nationalist/anti-EU movements in several Member States. While the influx of refugees peaked during the data collection phase, there is still significant discord regarding the treatment of migrants. Furthermore, elections in a number of European countries have resulted in more right-wing, more Eurosceptic governments. This widespread sense of 're-nationalisation' seems to be a strong counter-narrative to any notions of a common European identity amongst Europeans. Moreover, during the data collection, Brexit was only discussed as a potential

and seemingly unlikely outcome of the impending referendum. And while it is still unclear what role the UK will play in CSDP implementation post-Brexit, there is no doubt that its leaving the EU will have an impact on practitioners' notions of European (integration) identity. On the one hand, it may question the likeliness of further security cooperation and integration at a time when the EU has to grapple with internal cohesion and reassert the primacy of a NATO framework in the minds of the military. On the other hand, it may reinforce a sense of 'we-ness' amongst the remaining EU Member States after the departure of one of the EU's largest military powers. These complex developments will have a significant impact on the implementation of the CSDP and the extent to which the EUGS is put into action by the Member States. They have the potential to reinforce a trend towards European security and defence being limited to like-minded Member States cooperating when common goals are identified rather than pursuing integration and action through consensus by all Member States.

Furthermore, they are closely connected to notions of identity and highlight the struggle between general acceptance of the need to cooperate at EU level in order to deal with the complexity of problems facing Europe and the perceived need to protect national interests and preserve a sense of national identity. Investigating the extent to which notions of European and national identity are warring or complementary continues to be crucial. This is especially so amongst practitioners involved in implementing EU policies as they are required to navigate between the national and the European level on a daily basis.

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Appendix 1: University of Canterbury Human Ethics Approval

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2015/74

23 July 2015

Katharina Stirland
National Centre for Research on Europe
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Katharina

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Warring Identities - An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity amongst security practitioners - what part does CSDP training play?" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 22 July 2015.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Lindsey MacDonald

Chair University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Research Proposal for the European Security and Defence College

Mrs Katharina Stirland MPhil, BA (Hons)
National Centre for Research on Europe
University of Canterbury
Christchurch 8041
New Zealand

Email: katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Information Sheet for the Executive Academic Board of

the European Security and Defence College

Warring Identities: An investigation of the impact of CSDP training on notions of (European) identity amongst military staff.

I am studying towards a PhD in European Studies at the National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. I have previously completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in Culture, Society and Communication (Europe), and a Master of Philosophy degree in Modern European Cultures, both at the University of Birmingham, United Kingdom. Throughout my studies I have strongly focussed on notions of identity amongst European military staff: I wrote a dissertation for my Bachelor of Arts degree on the British military's attempts to maintain a strong national identity amongst staff based on foreign territory, and my Master's thesis analysed the use of notions of national identity in military recruitment campaigns in the UK and Germany.

For my PhD thesis I would like to analyse how CSDP-related training affects notions of identity amongst participating European military personnel. In particular, I would like to investigate the extent to which it builds or reinforces a sense of European identity and

whether it is effective in fostering a ‘common strategic culture’. I am therefore seeking your approval to undertake the following research:

- An online survey for personnel who are planning or scheduled to undertake CSDP training.
- A small number of interviews with staff involved in delivering training
- Semi-structured interviews with participants either during or immediately after a CSDP-related training course.
- A follow-up survey and/or interviews with participants approximately six months after the completion of their CSDP training course.

I aim to survey approximately 400 individuals and interview between 50 and 60 from across Europe.

If you agree to my research, I would wish for my survey to be sent to participants as soon as they register for the training, preferably by email and perhaps amongst other pre-training information that the European Security and Defence College sends to them. This is because its aim is to capture views and attitudes prior to participation in training courses. I will then use the survey itself to identify individuals willing to participate in interviews and the follow-up survey, although I would also be grateful if the European Security and Defence College could send out reminders to their training participants periodically.

All participation in my study is voluntary and as such there will be no obligation to complete the initial survey or participate in the interviews and follow-up survey. Furthermore, individual participants and the European Security and Defence College have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to have any data collected from them removed from the study and destroyed.

All participation is also anonymous and confidential. All data collected during the study will be securely stored on password-protected computers and locked storage at the University of Canterbury. No information by which an individual could be identified will be published. Copies of the completed thesis will be provided to the European Security and Defence College, as will the anonymous data, upon request.

All research that involves human participants has to be approved by the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee in order to ensure that all work is conducted with appropriate regard for ethical standards and cultural values. This approval is currently being obtained for this study.

Should you require further information in order to make your decision, please contact me via the details given above. Any complaints about myself or the study should be sent to Professor Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz), Director of the National Centre for Research on Europe and my PhD supervisor.

Finally, I would like to thank you for the help that the European Security and Defence College has already provided me. I look forward to hearing back from you and hopefully to our continuing working relationship.

Katharina Stirland

Warring Identities: An investigation of the impact of CSDP training on notions of (European) identity amongst security practitioners.

This thesis seeks to investigate the relationship between the EU's efforts to implement its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the role of notions of European identity amongst staff engaged in this process. In particular, this research aims to determine the extent to which training initiatives, introduced to increase awareness and understanding of the CSDP, are successful at fostering a sense of 'European identity'.

Since the setting of the Helsinki Headline Goals in 1999, the implementation of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has been a highly contested subject. The first EU mission was launched in 2003; since then over 30 operations have taken place, most of them being civilian. While that might seem like a considerable number, these missions vary significantly in size with the smallest involving only a handful of personnel and the biggest deploying close to 7000 staff (EUFOR Althea). Moreover, they are regularly overshadowed by claims of the EU's failure to act (efficiently). In fact, the EU is often criticised for punching below its weight with regards to making use of its security and defence capabilities (e.g. Kantner, 2006, p.5040).

A large amount of research has been carried out into what role the EU is to play in the international sphere, i.e. whether its foreign policy merely constitutes another tool to promote the interests of its most powerful member states or if its unique structure allows the European Union to make a "distinctive contribution to international politics" (Bickerton, C., 2011, p.186). This has led to many studies assessing the EU's external identity and the efficiency of operational mechanisms put in place by EU decision-makers. Yet there is no

supranational decision-making body, which means that whilst intergovernmental cooperation is sought, member states retain sovereignty over security and defence matters.

Michael E. Smith therefore discerns that one of the main reasons for the EU's underperformance in the security arena is its lack of a common security culture, or in other words, the insufficient development of a 'shared value system' (in Richardson, J., 2012, p.7). His statement highlights a key question which is rather more inward-looking than many previous studies and deserves further attention: Is it possible for the EU to speak with 'one voice' in security and defence matters, i.e. how do you create a security culture which is centred around the interests of Europe as a whole rather than the sole promotion of national interests?

The importance of identity in the European integration process is highlighted by Anthony Smith who believes that "until the great majority of Europeans, the great mass of the middle and lower classes, are ready to imbibe these European messages in a similar manner and to feel inspired by them to common action and community, the edifice of "Europe" at the political level will remain shaky" (1992, p.73, also see Bruter, 2005, Kumm, 2007, Michalski et al., 2004, Hermann, et al., 2004).

This shaky foundation that Smith alludes to is reflected in the EU's much criticised democratic deficit and its perceived lack of legitimacy (e.g. Kohler-Koch and Rittberger, 2007, Lord, 2001, Schmitter, 2003, p.83). In fact, Sifft et al. agree with Smith and argue that in order to legitimise EU institutions, a "common European discourse and some sense of belonging to a common community" need to emerge (2007, p. 128). This is further supported by Kaina et al., who believe that a 'sense of community' amongst Europeans has

the potential to overcome the increasing polarisation of attitudes towards the EU (2013, p.5).

While CSDP staff only represent a small number of Europeans who actively participate in the implementation of European integration, they also represent a majority of Europeans who experience the effects of decisions taken at EU level in their daily lives.

A substantial volume of research has been undertaken into how key decision-makers, i.e. senior national officials, deal with conceding some of their sovereignty in favour of intergovernmental and supranational processes and how this affects their identity. However, as Adler-Nissen points out, traditional approaches to studying European integration often neglect to consider the experiences of individuals whose daily lives are affected by European institutions. Yet, their practices are "crucial for the performance of European integration" (2014). This is further supported by Bruter who argues that mass identities emerge through an "evolution of individuals' identities over time" (2005, p. 56)

Security practitioners constitute an especially interesting case study, as CSDP missions are organised ad-hoc and staff are drafted from national armed forces/ or often national governments, rather than from an existing European contingent (while 'European battlegroups' exist on paper, they are yet to be deployed). Putting the CSDP into action remains an intergovernmental process in which member states retain control over participation in missions. This means that although staff might be aware of the possibility of being deployed on an EU-led operation (or under the auspices of NATO), the majority are unlikely to have chosen their profession due to this European dimension. While there is much less focus on 'duty' being a motivation for joining the military, in many countries joining the armed forces remains inextricably linked to a strong sense of identification with

the nation-state (Mileham in Anderson and Seitz, 2006, p. 37). Therefore, some military staff involved in the implementation of the CSDP are like many other Europeans in that they are confronted with European integration somewhat involuntarily whereas many civilian CSDP personnel actively seek to work for the EU. This makes for interesting research in terms of their differing attitudes and opinions.

In 2005, the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) was founded, one of its main aims being the development of such a 'European security culture' through increasingly integrated training. This thesis aims to assess the feasibility of a common security culture by examining the extent to which socialisation of CSDP agents occurs through training, and whether a sense of collective European identity is instilled in individuals implementing the CSDP.

An examination of existing literature regarding the impact of socialisation and norm diffusion on creating support for the European integration process will be carried out. Furthermore, existing knowledge regarding the role of identity in facilitating European unification to enable an evaluation of the viability of a common European security culture will be reviewed. These will inform empirical research into the extent to which CSDP-related training shapes perceptions of and identification with the EU and European integration amongst participating staff. The impact of the EU's training initiatives on the development of a sense of 'belonging together' amongst participants will be discussed and whether such a collective identity enables the construction of a more robust supranational security culture in Europe. Furthermore, if it is shown that notions of a collective European identity are emerging amongst staff involved in implementing the CSDP, an attempt will be made to trace the processes that bring about such a (partial) shift of loyalties.

This research hypothesises that multinational training on CSDP has the potential to alter notions of identity amongst military and civilian staff, but that more 'pooling and sharing' in terms of training is needed to ensure it has a lasting effect. It also proposes that while training is initiated by the EU and largely consists of structured teaching, it is the initiatives that foster informal social interaction amongst fellow Europeans that are most successful at creating a sense of European identity. The combination of greater knowledge of the EU's foreign policy and personal experiences of working with other Europeans will make cooperation on security and defence matters more efficient.

Yet it is expected that while identification with fellow Europeans might develop alongside pre-existing national/regional identities, they might remain secondary altogether, or be situation-specific. This means individuals might not apply a more Eurocentric approach to all aspects of their life, but instead employ it only in a security and defence policy-related context, thus highlighting the potential emergence of pan-European institutional or role-specific identity.

In order to corroborate these hypotheses, the main research question is as follows:

To what extent does the EU construct notions of European identity amongst military staff involved in the implementation of the Common Security and Defence Policy?

The following sub-questions will also be addressed:

- Does CSDP training create a sense of European identity amongst military staff that goes beyond basic support for the EU and includes a shared value system?
- If so, what does this sense of European identity look like?
- Do those involved in implementing the CSDP develop an allegiance to Europe in order to better pursue their own interests or do their interests and preferences genuinely change?

- Do notions of a collective (European) identity go hand in hand with the creation of a more robust European security culture?

This study will not only provide insights into whether involvement in EU policy implementation triggers a more profound identification with the EU, but it will also shed some light on the underlying processes that bring about such a shift in loyalty.

The aim is not to focus on analysing the socialisation and identification of elites, but special attention will be given to identity formation amongst those individuals whose job it is to implement decisions taken at the top. Such an approach endorses Juncos' view that while high-ranking politicians are in charge of executing the CSDP, 'implementing agents' largely determine the outcomes (2011, p.84). Focusing on how non-decision-making individuals in an institutional context respond to the EU's attempts at norm diffusion will provide a novel approach to assessing the efficiency of its strategy for overcoming both its 'knowledge and democratic deficit' (McCormick, 2014) and also further highlight how identity formation is reciprocal – often instigated by elites, but also shaped from the bottom-up.

Research Methodology

This study will use a sequential mixed method approach to generate a data set as rich and comprehensive as possible within the scope of this project. The question of if and how European identity formation takes place amongst members of the armed forces will be approached by employing the concept of strategic narratives, which has been developed by Miskimmon et al. (2012). For its operationalisation, a number of theoretical constructs underpin the research questions to be examined.

While Miskimmon et al. discuss three different, yet mutually constitutive processes – those of strategic narrative formation, projection and reception, the focus of this study will be on

the projection and reception of strategic narratives around the EU's security and defence policy.

They define strategic narratives as tools for constructing "a shared meaning of international politics" and shaping "interests, values and aspirations" which ultimately affect an actor's behaviour and enhance its political legitimacy (p.1, 2011, Working paper). Furthermore, they distinguish between three different levels of narratives – system, identity and policy (see below for more details).

This study will examine CSDP training as a platform for narrative projection and reception and will assess the different, yet inextricably linked levels of narrative that are being communicated. It will investigate whether there is a clash between 'national' and EU narratives and to what extent these are coherent across Europe.

Empirical research will include:

- content analyses of training materials provided by the individual member states as well as at EU level
- interviews with elites providing CSDP training (target: 15 interviews)
- Ongoing online surveys with participants prior to training (target: 400 responses)
- interviews with trainees during/after training (target: 50-60 interviews)
- follow-up skype interviews or online surveys with interviewees

The strategic narrative framework will be operationalised in the same way across all the different research methods in order to achieve holistic and consistent findings. This will be achieved through investigating the same theoretical constructs throughout the research process.

In this CSDP training context, system narratives, which attempt to set out "what kind of order we want" (Miskimmon et al., 2012, p.3), will be explored. In particular, concepts such

as transatlanticism, eurocentrism, cosmopolitanism and normative power Europe will be investigated, both in terms of projection and reception. This means attention will be paid to what kind of narratives regarding world order are being communicated, but also what system narratives had been appropriated by respondents prior to CSDP training. Furthermore, data will be collected with regards to CSDP training being a source for clashes between narratives.

In terms of identity narratives, the following ideas will be explored: is there a coherent European identity that is being communicated either by individual member states or by the EU itself? How is such a European identity defined? Bruter's notion of civic and cultural European identity will be investigated as well as Kantner's distinction between weak and strong European identity. A large number of scholars argue that national identities and European identity are not mutually exclusive, but in fact correlate, meaning that those who have a strong sense of national identity are more likely to have a European identity (Mummendey and Waldzus, 2004, Breakwell, 2004, Duchesne and Frognier, 1995, Risse, Bruter 2009). Whether clashes between identities occur and what their impact is will be examined as well as the role of 'othering' in communicating identity narratives both internally and externally.

At the most specific level, the 'policy' level, this study focuses on narratives concerning security provision. A number of different theories will be assessed, including the notion of role identity and in particular how perceptions regarding the role of the security provider have changed over time; Job motivation is another issue closely related to role. Recent studies of military officers' motivations to join the armed forces have shown that the traditional sense of 'national duty' and an 'esprit de corps' that goes hand in hand with

strong military values, no longer represent the predominant reasons for joining the military. Instead, the notion of the professional security provider, who chooses their job for self-fulfilment reasons rather than to serve a greater good, has increasingly attracted new recruits. The importance of this change in attitude will be measured throughout this study and compared to those of their civilian colleagues.

Content Analysis

Initially, a content analysis of CSDP training materials will be carried out. Focusing on the "systematic, objective and quantitative analysis of message characteristics (Neuendorf, 2002, p.1), its goal is to capture attitudes, interests and values of population groups (Krippendorff, 2004, p.46). Furthermore, language is not only a communication tool, but instead a means to actively shape our knowledge of the world, [...] and through which social meanings are "created, reproduced and social identities are formed" (Seale, 1998, p.246). This analysis will consist of examining a number of different official documents that form the basis of the CSDP and thus also determine the content of CSDP training, such as the European Security Strategy (ESS) and the CSDP Handbooks. This will provide a basic framework of the EU's notion of European identity/norms and values that is likely to be promoted during CSDP training. This may then be used for coding subsequent research into the feasibility of constructing 'Europeanness' and collective identity through processes such as norm diffusion and social interaction.

A number of different scope conditions for identity formation have been derived from similar previous studies. These are:

- Formal teaching vs. informal social interactions
- New recruits vs. more experienced ones
- The type of training

- National influences on conceptions of European identity

Online survey

One of the ways to test these and assess the extent to which training activities instil in participants a European identity as well as their main objective, which is a "European security and defence culture" (Weisserth, in Paile, 2014, p.4), quantitative online questionnaires will be conducted with staff before they commence CSDP-related training. This study will capture initial awareness of the CSDP and pre-existing notions of identity and be the starting point for capturing changes in attitudes that might occur as a result of the training. While this method will not be able to provide detailed insights into people's identifications and its rigid structure might at times "disguise important variations in peoples' responses" (Deacon, et al, 1999, p.77), it will produce a snapshot of notions of identity. In order to maximise the validity of findings within the parameters of this study, a sample size of four hundred will be aimed for.

The questions that form part of the online survey have been informed by a number of previous studies covering notions of identity as well as officer education. The triangulation of primary research with existing studies will increase the validity of the findings and enable some direct comparisons with existing data or allow the verification of models developed in those studies. For example, Eurobarometer surveys are conducted twice a year and include questions regarding people's identity. Some questions will be identical to those asked in the survey in order to determine whether training participants closely represent the 'average European citizen' or whether they represent an 'epistemic community' whose attitudes are different from the general public. Dr Michael Bruter from the London School of Economics has also conducted a large European identity study. Some of the questions used in his study

have been developed to apply in a military context. Caforio et al. conducted a large study into military officer education. A model was developed to identify different types of officer. This convergent/divergent model has been used to develop questions regarding participants' motivations and role conceptions.

Semi-structured interviews

Employing a sequential research design enables the researcher to develop interview questions based on preliminary findings from the online survey. Qualitative interviews with staff during (or straight after) their participation in a variety of training initiatives will explore individuals' conceptions of identity in more detail.

While coverage of as many member states as possible will be sought, it has to be noted that participation in EU-level training varies considerably from country to country. Cumulative data on training participation by member states might in itself provide a cause for analysis. Furthermore, sample selection will be somewhat determined by the limitations of this study, i.e. the majority of interviews being conducted during training proceedings that fall within the field research period.

The interviews will cover topics such as:

- More detailed questions regarding participants' notions of identity
- Their ideas of European identity and how these fit with pre-existing notions of identity as well as with the identity the EU is trying to promote
- Usefulness of the training (increase in knowledge, networking, language skills, etc.)
- Participants' understanding of a 'common strategic culture' and how it applies to them/ their work
- Participants' views on (future) EU security and defence cooperation

Whereas interviewing training participants will certainly provide an insight into the reception of narratives, it is also important to investigate how what is being received might

differ from the intended messages. Therefore, depth interviews will also be carried out with a number of staff delivering the training.

In both cases semi-structured interviews will be used to obtain comparable data. Having a certain level of flexibility in terms of conducting the interviews will not only provide a less formal and forced interview situation (Wodak, 1999, p. 146), it will also facilitate the exploration and elaboration of individuals' notions of identity (May, 2001).

The triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods will avoid overreliance on any one method (Punch, 1998, p.241) and at the same time attempt to bridge the divide between positivist and constructivist approaches to performing research, thus striving for a balanced analysis of identity formation and its influence on the implementation of the CSDP (Silverman, 2000, p.98).

The Organisational Aspects of the Study

All research involving human participants requires ethical approval from the University of Canterbury. Ethical approval has been obtained for this study.

The research to be carried out will comply with the University's data management and data protection procedures. This means that all documents and data will be stored securely in password-protected computer files or in locked storage units at the University of Canterbury. Any data that may be used to identify participants in the study will not be published or shared with third parties in any way. The completed PhD thesis, plus anonymous data collected during the course of the research, will be shared on request with any EU institutions that participate. All participation in the study will be on a voluntary basis

and any individuals or institutions that withdraw their cooperation will have the right to ask that their data be removed and destroyed.

More information regarding any of the components of this study can be provided at any time.

Appendix 3: Study Information Sheet – CSDP Training Experts

National Centre for Research on Europe
Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@canterbury.ac.nz

25 June 2015

Warring Identities: An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity - what part does CSDP training play?

Information Sheet: Interview with CSDP training experts

My name is Katharina Stirland and I am a PhD student at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. This study investigates the relationship between the EU's efforts to implement its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the role of notions of (European) identity amongst staff engaged in this process. In particular, this research aims to determine the extent to which training initiatives, introduced to increase awareness and understanding of the CSDP and making its implementation more efficient, are successful at also fostering a sense of 'European identity'.

This research project has been approved by the ESDC Executive Academic Board. As you are one of the experts involved in CSDP-related training, your participation in a 30 to 45 minute interview would be much appreciated. The purpose of these interviews is to gain a detailed insight into the content of CSDP training activities and to obtain an understanding of the rationale behind the content and format of training. An online survey of training participants prior to training and semi-structured interviews with trainees after the completion of training will also form part of this study.

Participation is voluntary and you will be given the opportunity to withdraw from this study at the end of the interview. If you choose to opt out at this point, all your interview data will be removed.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, de-identification will be carried out according to the University's Human Ethics Council guidelines. This means that you will be assigned a code that will be used on all the data you provide.

Furthermore, research participants' identifying data will be stored separately from the de-identified data on locked hard drives and in password-protected electronic form. This means that only the researcher will be able to link you to the data and no identification will be disclosed. The de-identified data will be accessible only to the researcher, Katharina Stirland, and her direct supervisors, Dr. Natalia Chaban and Professor Martin Holland. All data will be stored for a period of 10 years after the completion of the PhD study and will then be destroyed. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

The project is being carried out by Katharina Stirland under the supervision of Professor Martin Holland, who can be contacted at martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. Participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of

Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

You are required to sign the Interview Consent Form before the interview can take place.

Thank you very much for your participation,

Katharina Stirland

Appendix 4: Consent Form - Experts

National Centre for Research on
Europe Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

25 June 2015

Warring Identities - An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity – what part does CSDP training play?

Consent Form for Interviews with CSDP-related training experts

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the interview. You will be provided with a transcript of your interview answers. You will be given 14 days to review the transcript. After this time it will not be possible to withdraw your interview data.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her supervisors and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants.

I understand that only the researcher is able to personally link me to the data as a de-identification process will take place and no identification will be disclosed.

I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in password- protected electronic form and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I am able to receive a report on the findings of the study at the conclusion of the project. *Please provide an email address that the report can be sent to:*

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Katharina Stirland (katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor, Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. The research will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name *Signature* *Date*

Appendix 5: Study Information Sheet – Participant Interviews

National Centre for Research on Europe
Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@canterbury.ac.nz

Warring Identities: An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity - what part does CSDP training play?

Information Sheet: Interview with CSDP- related training participants

My name is Katharina Stirland and I am a PhD student at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. This study investigates the relationship between the EU's efforts to implement its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the role of notions of (European) identity amongst staff engaged in this process. In particular, this research aims to determine the extent to which training initiatives, introduced to increase awareness and understanding of the CSDP and making its implementation more efficient, are successful at also fostering a sense of 'European identity'.

This research project is divided into three stages. You are invited to participate in the second stage which consists of a semi-structured interview with training participants who have volunteered to take part in follow-up research after completing the online survey and participating in the training course. Interviews should take between 30 minutes and 45 minutes.

Participation is voluntary and participation in the interview does not commit you to take part in subsequent stages. At the end of the interview, you will be given the opportunity to withdraw from this stage of the study. If you choose to opt out at this point, all your interview data will be removed. However, as you have already submitted your online survey, it will not be possible to withdraw the online survey data.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, de-identification will be carried out according to the University's Human Ethics Council guidelines. This means that you have been assigned a code that will be used on all the data you provide.

Furthermore, research participants' identifying data will be stored separately from the de-identified data on locked hard drives and in password-protected electronic form. This means that only the researcher will be able to link you to the data and no identification will be disclosed. The de-identified data will be accessible only to the researcher, Katharina Stirland, and her direct supervisors, Dr. Natalia Chaban and Professor Martin Holland. All data will be stored for a period of 10 years after the completion of the PhD study and will then be destroyed. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

The project is being carried out by Katharina Stirland under the supervision of Professor Martin Holland, who can be contacted at martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. Participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

You are required to sign the Interview Consent Form before the interview can take place.

Thank you very much for your participation, *Katharina Stirland*

Appendix 6: Consent Form – Interview Participants

National Centre for Research on
Europe Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
25 June 2015

Warring Identities - An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity – what part does CSDP training play?

Consent Form for Interviews with CSDP-related training participants

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.\

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the interview. You will be provided with a transcript of your interview answers. You will be given 14 days to review the transcript. After this time it will not be possible to withdraw your interview data.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her supervisors and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants.

I understand that only the researcher is able to personally link me to the data as a de-identification process will take place and no identification will be disclosed.

I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in password- protected electronic form and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I am able to receive a report on the findings of the study at the conclusion of the project. *Please provide an email address that the report can be sent to:*

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Katharina Stirland (katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor, Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. The research will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name *Signature* *Date*

Appendix 7: Study Information Sheet –Participant Survey

National Centre for Research on Europe
Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@canterbury.ac.nz

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

Warring Identities: An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity - what part does CSDP training play?

Information Sheet: Online Survey for CSDP- related training participants

My name is Katharina Stirland and I am a PhD student at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. This study investigates the relationship between the EU's efforts to implement its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the role of notions of (European) identity amongst staff engaged in this process. In particular, this research aims to determine the extent to which training initiatives, introduced to increase awareness and understanding of the CSDP and making its implementation more efficient, are successful at also fostering a sense of 'European identity'.

This research project is divided into three stages. You are invited to participate in the first stage, which consists of an online survey of military and civilian personnel prior to participation in CSDP-related training courses. The survey should take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Participation is voluntary and participation in the online survey does not commit you to take part in subsequent stages. At the end of the online survey, you will be given the opportunity to withdraw from the study. If you choose to opt out at this point, all your data will be removed. However, once you have submitted your survey, it will not be possible to withdraw the data.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, de-identification will be carried out according to the University's Human Ethics Council guidelines. This means that you will be assigned a code that will be used on all the data you provide.

Furthermore, research participants' identifying data will be stored separately from the de-identified data on locked hard drives and in password-protected electronic form. This means that only the researcher will be able to link you to the data and no identification will be disclosed. The de-identified data will be accessible only to the researcher, Katharina Stirland, and her direct

supervisors, Dr. Natalia Chaban and Professor Martin Holland. All data will be stored for a period of 10 years after the completion of the PhD study and will then be destroyed. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

The project is being carried out by Katharina Stirland under the supervision of Professor Martin Holland, who can be contacted at martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. Participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

You will be asked to agree to participate in this study at the beginning of the online survey and again before you submit the data.

Thank you very much for your participation, *Katharina Stirland*

Appendix 8: Consent Form – Survey Participants

National Centre for Research on
Europe Telephone: +64 3 364 3120
Email:
katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

25 June 2015

Warring Identities - An investigation of the reciprocity between the European Union's expanding role as a security provider and ever-evolving notions of identity – what part does CSDP training play?

Consent Form for Online Survey with CSDP-related training participants

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the online survey. You will be given another option to opt out before submitting your survey answers. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable. After you have submitted the online survey, it will not be possible to remove your data from the study.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her supervisors and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in password- protected electronic form and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I am able to receive a report on the findings of the study at the conclusion of the project. *Please provide an email address that the report can be sent to here:*

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Katharina Stirland (katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor, Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. The research will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By ticking the box below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Appendix 9: Online Survey

Start of Block: Section A

Q1

Participation in this study

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her supervisors and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the University of Canterbury Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in password- protected electronic form and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Katharina Stirland (katharina.stirland@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor, Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. The research will be undertaken according to research ethics stipulated in New Zealand Law. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the online survey. You will be given another option to opt out before submitting your survey answers. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information provided should this remain practically achievable. After you have submitted the online survey, it will not be possible to remove your data from the study.

☐ I understand that I am able to receive a report on the findings of the study at the conclusion of the project. If you would like to receive a copy, please provide an email address that the report can be sent to here: (12)

_____

☐ I agree to participate in this study (7)

Q2 Which training course coordinated by the European Security and Defence College have you registered for?

_____

Q3 How did you find out about [insert training course specified in Q2]?

O Through a trainer/teacher in my workplace (1)

O Through a colleague who previously participated in one of the courses (2)

O I looked for opportunities to participate in multinational training (3)

O Other (please specify): (4) _____

O No answer (5)

Q4 Are you a member of the Armed Forces?

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

Skip To: Q9 If Q4 = Yes

Q6 What is the name of your employer?

_____

Page Break

Q7 How long have you been employed by [insert response from Q6]?

O less than 3 months (1)

O between 3 and 12 months (2)

O between 1 and 5 years (3)

O between 5 and 10 years (4)

O more than 10 years (5)

Q8 Since starting work for [insert response from Q6], have you taken part in multinational training?

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

Skip To: Q15 If Q8 = No

Display This Question:

If Q4 = Yes

Q9 How long have you been in the Armed Forces?

O less than 3 months (1)

O between 3 and 12 months (2)

O between 1 and 5 years (3)

O between 5 and 10 years (4)

O more than 10 years (5)

Display This Question:

If Q4 = Yes

Q5 Which service of the Armed Forces do you belong to?

O Army (1)

O Air Force (2)

O Navy (3)

O Gendarmerie (4)

O Reserves (5)

Display This Question:

If Q4 = Yes

Q10 Since joining the military, have you taken part in multinational training?

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

Skip To: Q15 If Q10 = No

Q11 How many training courses have you participated in?

O 1 to 3 courses (1)

O 4 to 6 courses (2)

O more than 6 courses (3)

Q12 Please specify the type of training you participated in.

If you have taken part in several multinational training courses, please refer to the most recent one

Q13 Please indicate which year the training took place in.

_____

Q14 Please indicate which country the training took place in.

_____

Q15 Have you ever taken part in an exchange with another European country?

This could be activities such as (Erasmus) exchanges at university, high school or a language course.

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Q15 = No

Q16 Please indicate what year the exchange took place in.

If you have taken part in several exchanges, please refer to the most recent one

_____

Q17 Please indicate how long the exchange lasted.

O Less than one month (1)

O Between one and three months (2)

O Between three and six months (3)

O Between six and twelve months (4)

O More than a year (5)

End of Block: Section A

Start of Block: Section B

Q18 In your current position, how frequently do you interact with European colleagues in other EU member states?

- O On a daily basis (1)
- O On a weekly basis (2)
- O On a monthly basis (3)
- O On an irregular basis (not more than a few times a year) (4)
- O Never (5)

Q19 Overall, how would you rate your understanding of...

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor
the EU's political processes? ()			1		
the Common Security and Defence Policy? ()					
the most recent European Security Strategy document? ()					
the role of NATO? ()					

Q20 I believe taking part in multinational CSDP-related training will...

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1		
Increase my knowledge of the Common Security and Defence Policy ()					
Increase my knowledge of how the EU works ()					
Enable me to build lasting networks with European colleagues in other EU member states ()					
Make me more aware of what it means to be a European Union citizen ()					
Not have much impact on my views and attitudes towards the EU ()					

Q21 With regards to your career development, what are your priorities?

	Very Important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Not at all important
			1		
Developing your skills and expertise further through more training ()					
Participating in a mission that protects your country's interests ()					
Participating in a humanitarian mission abroad ()					
Taking up a position with a good work/life balance ()					
Exercising leadership ()					
Working with international colleagues on providing security ()					
If any of your main priorities are not listed, you may add them here: ()					

Display This Question:

If Q4 = Yes

Q22 What were your reasons for joining the military?

	Very Important	Important	Neither Important nor Unimportant	Unimportant	Not at all Important
Attractive education and training opportunities ()			1		
I wanted to serve my nation ()					
I was looking for an adventure ()					
I liked the values of the military ()					
Better job prospects and/or pay than in civilian jobs ()					
I liked the discipline and order of the military ()					
If any of your main reasons are not listed, you may add them here: ()					

Display This Question:

If Q4 = No

Q23 Please list your main reasons for choosing your current job

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q24 How would you describe the sense of community in your place of work?

- O There is a strong sense of camaraderie (1)
- O I have a close group of colleagues, but do not feel part of a larger community (2)
- O There is no sense of community (3)
- O A sense of community in the workplace is not important to me (4)
- O Other: (5) _____

Q25 How important is it to you that your country...

	Very Important	Important	Neither Important nor Unimportant	Unimportant	Not at all Important
Protects its inhabitants and their interests using military force ()			1		
Uses primarily non-coercive means to achieve peaceful relations with other states ()					
Provides humanitarian assistance to the weak and vulnerable internationally ()					
Cooperates with other states through international organisations such as the UN, NATO and the EU ()					

Page Break

Q26 How important is it to you that the EU...

	Very Important	Important	Neither Important nor Unimportant	Unimportant	Not at all Important
Protects its inhabitants and their interests using military force ()			1		
Uses primarily non-coercive means to achieve peaceful relations with other states ()			1		
Provides humanitarian assistance to the weak and vulnerable internationally ()			1		
Cooperates with other states through international organisations such as the UN and NATO ()			1		

Q27 How credible do you think the EU is as a global security actor?

	Very credible	Somewhat credible	Neither	Not very credible	Not credible at all
Please rate ()			1		

Q28 Please explain your above rating of the EU as a global security actor.

Q29 Do you think EU security cooperation is beneficial or detrimental to your country?

	Very beneficial	Somewhat beneficial	Neither beneficial nor detrimental	Somewhat detrimental	Very detrimental
Please rate ()			1		

End of Block: Section B

Start of Block: Section 3

Q30 To what extent do you personally identify with...

	To a great extent	Somewhat	Don't know	Not really	Not at all
your region (within your country) ()			1		
your country ()					
Europe ()					
being a citizen of the world ()					
Other (please specify): ()					

Q31 What does 'being a citizen of the European Union' mean to you?

	To a great extent	Somewhat	Don't know	Not really	Not at all
			1		
Having a shared European heritage ()					
Having the right to vote in European elections ()					
Having common institutions ()					
Having a common European history ()					
Having a common European flag, anthem and passport ()					
Having the right to travel to another EU country without passing through customs ()					
Having the right to travel to another EU country without having to show your passport/ID ()					
Having some common ideals ()					
Being a member of the 'European family' ()					

Q58 Would you say your views of European integration have changed since taking on a role that involves implementing the CSDP?

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

O Don't know (3)

Display This Question:

If Q58 = Yes

Q59 Please explain how your views have changed.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q32 Do you think a common European identity currently exists?

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

O Partially (4)

O Don't know (3)

Skip To: Q34 If Q32 = No

Skip To: Q34 If Q32 = Don't know

Q33 In your opinion, which of the following are the two most important elements that make up a European identity?

*Please choose up to **two.***

- [ ] Common history (1)
- [ ] Geography (2)
- [ ] Democratic values (3)
- [ ] High level of social protection (4)
- [ ] Common culture (5)
- [ ] Common religious heritage (6)
- [ ] None - there is no European identity (7)
- [ ] Single currency, the Euro (8)
- [ ] Symbols: flag, anthem and motto (Unity in Diversity) (9)
- [ ] Don't know (10)
- [ ] Other (please specify): (11) _____

Q34 In the following list, which are the three most important values for you **personally**?

*Please select **three**.*

- [ ] Democracy (1)
- [ ] Equality (2)
- [ ] Human rights (3)
- [ ] Individual freedom (4)
- [ ] Peace (5)
- [ ] Religion (6)
- [ ] Respect for human life (7)
- [ ] Respect for other cultures (8)
- [ ] Self-fulfillment (9)
- [ ] Solidarity (10)
- [ ] Support for others (11)
- [ ] The Rule of Law (12)
- [ ] Tolerance (13)
- [ ] Other (please specify): (14) _____

Q35 And which three of the following values best represent the European Union?

*Please select **three**.*

- [ ] Democracy (1)
- [ ] Equality (2)
- [ ] Human rights (3)
- [ ] Individual freedom (4)
- [ ] Peace (5)
- [ ] Religion (6)
- [ ] Respect for human life (7)
- [ ] Respect for other cultures (8)
- [ ] Self-fulfillment (9)
- [ ] Solidarity (10)
- [ ] Support for others (11)
- [ ] The Rule of Law (12)
- [ ] Tolerance (13)
- [ ] Other (please specify): (14) _____

Q36 Since the launch of the Common Security and Defence Policy in 2003, the military uniforms of those deployed on CSDP missions have had the European Union logo as well as national logos on them. How do you feel about this?

	It's a very good thing	It's quite a good thing	It doesn't matter to me	It's quite a bad thing	It's a very bad thing
Please rate ()			1		

Q37 Periodically, European politicians mention the idea of a "European Army". What would be your opinion regarding the creation of a European Army, that is a stand-alone armed force that is not drawn from individual member states and is under the authority of the EU?

O I would support the idea (1)

O I would reject the idea (2)

O Don't know (3)

Skip To: End of Block If Q37 = Don't know

Display This Question:

If Q37 = I would reject the idea

Q38 Why would you reject the idea?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Display This Question:

If Q37 = I would support the idea

Q39 Why would you support this idea?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

End of Block: Section 3

Start of Block: Section D

Q40 What is your gender?

O Male (1)

O Female (2)

O Prefer not to say (3)

O Other (please specify): (4) _____

Q41 What is your (primary) nationality?

O Austrian (1)

O Belgian (2)

O British (3)

O Bulgarian (4)

O Croatian (5)

O Cypriot (6)

O Czech (7)

O Danish (8)

O Dutch (9)

O Estonian (10)

O Finnish (11)

O French (12)

O German (13)

O Greek (14)

O Hungarian (15)

O Italian (16)

O Irish (17)

O Latvian (18)

O Lithuanian (19)

O Luxembourgish (20)

O Maltese (21)

O Polish (22)

O Portuguese (23)

O Romanian (24)

O Slovakian (25)

O Slovenian (26)

O Spanish (27)

O Swedish (28)

O Prefer not to say (29)

Q42 What is your highest level of education (or equivalent)?

O Secondary school (1)

O Secondary school fulfilling university entry requirements (2)

O Tertiary diploma/certificate (3)

O Undergraduate degree (e.g. Bachelor) (4)

O Postgraduate degree (e.g. Masters) (5)

O Doctoral degree (6)

O Other (please specify): (7) _____

O Prefer not to say (8)

Display This Question:

If Q4 = Yes

Q43 Please indicate your equivalent rank according to the following list.

- O Officer cadet/ midshipman (1)
- O Second Lieutenant/ Pilot officer/ Ensign (2)
- O Lieutenant/ Flying Officer/ Sub-Lieutenant (3)
- O Captain/ Flight Lieutenant/ Lieutenant (4)
- O Major/ Squadron Leader/ Lieutenant Commander (5)
- O Lieutenant Colonel/ Wing Commander/ Commander (6)
- O Colonel/ Group Captain/ Captain (7)
- O Brigadier/ Air Commodore/ Commodore (8)
- O Major General/ Air Vice-Marshal/ Rear Admiral (9)
- O Lieutenant General/ Air Marshal/ Vice Admiral (10)
- O General/ Air Chief Marshal/ Admiral (11)
- O Field Marshal/ Marshal of the Air Force/ Admiral of the Fleet (12)
- O Other (please specify): (13)
- O Prefer not to say (14)

Display This Question:

If Q4 = No

Q44 What is your job title?

_____

Q45 Would you be willing to participate in follow-up research related to this subject once you have completed the course? This would be in the form of a short interview at the end of the training course you registered for.

O Yes (1)

O No (2)

O Maybe (I would need further details first) (3)

Skip To: Q47 If Q45 = No

Q46 Please provide an email address you can be contacted at regarding follow-up research. Your details will be kept confidential and will not be passed on to third parties. You will only be contacted regarding involvement in further research.

_____

Q47 If you have any comments, queries or feedback regarding the survey, please leave them here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q48 Once you have submitted your survey, it will not be possible to remove your answers from the study. Please tick the box below to confirm your participation

☐ I agree to participate in this study (1)

End of Block: Section D

Appendix 10: Interview Guide – CSDP Training Participants

Section 1: Questions about the course in general

1. How have you found the course so far?

   Prompts:
   - What aspects have you enjoyed the most/least?
   - What aspects have you found the most/least useful?
   - Why?

2. If you have taken part in training at national level previously, how would you say this ESDC-coordinated training course has differed from those arranged only for nationals of your country?
3. What are your reasons for participating in the course?
4. Tell me about how it was doing the course with people from other European countries.

   Prompts:
   - Have you networked much/ Do you think you will stay in touch with any of them?
   - What were the group dynamics?
   - Was there a sense of community?
   - Do you think it's important? Why?

5. What are the key messages (about the EU) that you are taking away from this training course?
6. How do you think this course is going to impact on you?

   Prompts:
   - On you personally
   - On the work you do?

7. If you could change anything about the training course, what would it be? Why?
8. The ESDC aims to help create a 'common European security culture'. What does that mean to you? Do you think it's important? Why?
9. In your opinion, what is the best way of creating such a culture? Why?

Section 2: Questions about your role and security provision today

10. What are the first things that spring to mind when you think about….your institution?
11. In the past, being in the armed forces/involved in security and defence was commonly associated with serving your nation, or even referred to as 'the ultimate sacrifice' one could make for one's country. What do those associations mean to you personally?

    Prompt: - Does it matter who you risk your life for?
12. Describe to me what you think the role of you as a security provider is in today's world.

    Prompt: What do you think are key security threats for Europeans?
13. Describe to me what you think the EU's role as a global actor is.
14. Where do you see the future of Europe's security and defence?

    Prompts: - Do you think there ought to be more integration/collaboration? - Why?
    - Are there tings the EU should not get involved in?

<u>Section 3: Questions relating to identity</u>

15. Could you imagine working directly for the EU rather than for the EU through your home country? Why?
16. What does 'Europe' mean to you?
17. Would you say there is a 'European way' to approaching your work? If so, what does it look like?
18. Do you think there is a sense of community and shared values and interests at your work/in general?
19. Do you think a sense of community amongst Europeans is important?
20. Has (the potential of) working with and for fellow Europeans (had) any impact on how you feel about the EU? How so?
21. Has this course had any impact on how you feel about the EU? If so, what?

Appendix 11: Interview Guide – CSDP Experts

1. Is the EU a credible global actor? Why/why not?
2. Where do you see the future of the EU regarding security and defence?
3. Describe to me what a 'common European security culture' means to you?
4. Do you think this is important? Why/why not?
5. Have you seen any evidence of this emerging amongst European security practitioners?
6. What do you think is the best way to help create a common security culture?
7. What are the biggest challenges to creating such a culture?

   Prompts:
   - Are there differences between civilian and military attitudes?
   - Do you think there are differences in attitude between personnel from the different EU member states?
   - Is a common security culture necessary at all levels, or is it enough for decision-makers to develop a 'European approach' to security and defence? Why/why not?
8. Can you tell me a bit about your experience of working with the ESDC and running training courses relating to CSDP?
9. How do you select your speakers/presenters?
10. What are the key messages regarding the EU as a security provider/global actor and the CSDP that is communicated through training?
11. From your own experience, what aspects of ESDC-coordinated training courses are most useful to participants?
12. Do you think there is currently coherence in training on CSDP across Europe? Why/why not?
13. In terms of resources and support, how do you feel member states approach this?
14. Do you think there is a shared European identity?

    Prompts:
    - Is there a shared European identity amongst those involved in implementing the CSDP?
    - If there is one:
      - What does it look like?
      - Does it serve any purpose?
    - Do you think European security practitioners develop a more European mindset/ a sense of European identity through their work?